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kena. The men besieging the cave " . . . had made twenty holes in a row in the cliff above and they stood in the holes one behind the others."

When Kainga reaches Poie he calls to him: "You have food, I have none; I shall not kill you, I will go back; but another day I will kill you." Later he asks Maikuku, a Tupahotu, to give his daughter to Poie. That is the reason why Poie's father-in-law is willing to betray him when Kainga comes to kill him.

Most of the variations in Vives Solar's version result from misunderstanding or invented details, but some of them contain complementary details:

The name of the warrior whose bones have been used to make fishhooks has been confused with the expression meaning "thin bones." The names of the chiefs in the cave of Ana-te-ava-nui are Te Toke-heu and Te Toke-kai. After victory, Kainga and Te Toke-(?) divide the land. Kainga takes the region of Hanga-nui and Toke-(?) the region of Poike. There are thirty men left in the cave and thirty on the islet Marotiri. They marry the women of the other district which they had captured.

The final episode, "The death of Poie," in Vives Solar's version (220, pp. 315-318) contains some errors: Maikuku is the wife of Poie's father-in-law. She is not the one who betrays him by showing her head, although the song clearly refers to the bald head of Maikuku. Poie-poki, son of Poie, is mentioned but does not figure in the story. Probably he is the one who advises his father of the danger threatening. (Routledge's version states it was the daughter of Poie who advised him of the ambush; in my version she is given as his wife.) The boy Kirireva tortures Poie and kills him by passing between his legs and pushing him down from the cliff.

The episodes at the end of Vives Solar's version (220, pp. 318-320) have been recorded by him only: A brother of Poie, Taka-aure, succeeded in escaping and concealing himself between rocks. He returned to Hanga-roa and married. Many years later his sons walked on the side of Rano-raraku. They were called to by an old man who asked them if they were the sons of Poie. He told them he was Kirireva who had killed their uncle [father] and that he was ready to give himself to them to be dealt with as they wished. He only asked for permission to take a bath and to put on a new loin cloth and a new cloak.

The young men brought Kirireva to Hanga-roa to show him to their mother. The mother advised them to forget about revenge because so many years had passed since the death of Poie. Besides, the relatives of Kirireva could start a revenge war. In the end, they put the old man into a hole, covered him with leaves, and burned him. The corpse was covered with ashes.

Destruction of the Images

By 1864 there was not a single statue which had not been overthrown from the burial platforms (171, p. 177). Both Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 295) and La Pérouse (130, vol. 1, p. 79) were struck by the number of images lying on the ground, and G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 587) remarks that on the same ahu some statues remained standing while others had fallen. In 1815 Kotzebue (127, vol. 1, p. 141) looked in vain for the images near Hanga-roa Bay described by Cook and La Pérouse, but he did see some standing when he turned the south point of the island. Admiral du Petit-Thouars (65, vol. 2, p. 225), when he skirted the western coast in 1838, was the last white man to see an ahu surmounted by its statues. Thus the overthrowing of the last statues must have occurred between 1838 and 1864. This is fully confirmed by native tradition, which attributes the destruction of the monuments to the

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wars which broke out before the arrival of white men. De Lapelin (129, p. 122, note 1) received information from eyewitnesses:

> The statues were overthrown not long ago. Daniel, an employee of Mr. Brander in Tahiti, saw these new iconoclasts at work. During their intertribal wars, the victorious party threw down the statues of the defeated. If the statues of Rano-raraku are still standing it is because the district was never invaded. At least this is the explanation given by many of the emigrants here in Tahiti.

Likewise from emigrants in Tahiti comes Jaussen's statement (115, p. 245): "In our days, when the natives were still pagan they showed that these *moai* were not deities, since at a certain time there broke out the war of overthrowing the statues, *huri moai*. They indulged in the barbarous pleasure of pulling down each others images."

The statue called Paro on Ahu-te-pito-te-kura, on the north coast was the last one which remained standing. In 1915 an old man, who was a child when it was pulled down, told Routledge (194, p. 173) that the vandals were the Tupahotu-o-uta, who nursed a grudge against the Tupahotu-oone, to whom the statue belonged. A woman was eaten by the people of the eastern group, the Tupahotu-oone. In revenge her son trapped thirty of the Tupahotu-o-uta in a cave and consumed them. The image was thrown down in the struggle which followed the massacre.

That the statues were voluntarily overthrown is evidenced by many signs. The position of the images and the damage they suffered prove that they were pulled down by means of a rope or overthrown by removal of the slab on which they rested.

Besides the historical tradition, which seems perfectly correct and in harmony with the methods of warfare throughout Polynesia, the Easter Islanders have a legend which ascribes the destruction of some of the images to magic:

> A priest (*iri-atua*) came down from Virivovo. He entered a house near Vai-maho. The men and women living in this house had eaten all the fish, the lobsters and the congers without leaving anything for the *iri-atua*. When he came into the house, he asked, "Where is the fish, the lobsters, and the congers you left for me?" They said, "It is finished." He answered, "All right." He slept in the house. With his foot he pushed the supporting post (*oka-pou*) of the house. The inhabitants of the house heard a loud noise, made by the falling statues of ahu Tonga-riki. At dawn the men of this house said, "When we were asleep the *iri-atua* pressed the post with his foot and caused the statues to fall. It is because we did not give him fish, conger, and lobster."

This legend refers to the ahu Tonga-riki only. I consider it important, not in itself, but as evidence that legends may have been created to account for rather recent events.

Another legend explains not only the overthrowing of the images but also the sudden interruption of the work in the quarry. It was heard first by

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Father Butaye (37, p. 30) in 1898. The natives showed him the place where a big earth oven had been dug out to cook a huge tuna fish. The same legend was told to Routledge (194, p. 182), a crayfish taking the place of the tuna. Estella (79, pp. 37-38) omits the end of this tale, thereby making the whole story meaningless:

> The carvers of the big images sent the people to get fish and crayfish in all the places. The fishermen arrived at Kikiri-mariu. They dived after a crayfish and they entered a hole where there were the body, the tail, and the legs of the crayfish. The divers came up to the surface and said to the people above that the crayfish was so large that it could not be caught. Other people came and dived, but they died.
>
> The people to whom the crayfish belonged made a big net. Although six men had already died on account of the big crayfish with the long tail, they went to capture it amidst the cries of the crowd. They entered the sea, and swam until they arrived above the hole. One young man dived down to the crayfish and opened his net. Two others drove the crayfish into it. When the crayfish was in it, the two young men pulled the rope and brought the net to the surface. They made for the shore with the crayfish. The people shouted, "Eh, eh, the large crayfish with the long tail has been caught." All admired the crayfish that the young men were carrying to Oiohie. They presented the crayfish to the image carvers, who shouted to an old magician woman: "Light the earth oven to cook the large crayfish with the long tail, Te-tu-kote-ura-rarape-nui." The old woman lit the earth oven, put in the crayfish and sweet potatoes, and said to the carvers, "When the food is done, take it out of the earth oven, but leave some of the crayfish for me." The stone carvers said, "All right." The old woman went to the house of her brothers where she stayed to talk.
>
> When the crayfish was cooked, the image carvers opened the earth oven and ate everything without thinking of the old woman. Then they returned to the statue Te Tokanga which they were carving. They had finished the face, the neck, and the hands. They were undercutting it to remove it and erect it on the ahu Vinapu and the ahu Mataitai. The old woman returned and saw that the earth oven had been opened and the crayfish eaten; only the shell remained. She said angrily, "Where is my share of the crayfish?" They said, "There is no more. We forgot you and that is why nothing has been left." The magician shouted, "Men who are standing, fall down. This is because nothing has been left of the large crayfish with the long tail, and to teach you never to take my belongings again." All the statues fell down, for the heart of the magician was full of anger.

GENEALOGIES OF KINGS

If Easter Island had kingly genealogies similar to those recorded for other parts of Polynesia, most of her mysteries might be solved. It would be possible to determine the approximate date of the first landing of Polynesian immigrants on the island, and thus to relate its traditional history to that of some other island. The early missionaries and travelers who inquired about the past of Easter Island accepted as genealogies mere lists of kings. Each author who got a list of Easter Island kings was convinced that he had the correct sequence of *ariki-mau* (supreme chief) who succeeded to power by order of primogeniture. But there are several lists which coincide neither in names nor in number of kings. A comparison of these documents gives one the impression that the informants remembered the beginning of the genealogies and of course the last kings, who lived in recent times, but forgot or

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child's paternal grandmother who threw them into the sea as she pronounced a charm (*ivi-atua*): "Ka oho, kangaro ki hiva!" (May it be lost in a foreign country!) Sometimes the cord was buried under stone, and a charm pronounced over it: "Ka noho hiohio koe i toou kainga!" (May you stay strong in your country!) The land in which the umbilical cord was concealed was tapu; if anyone trod upon it, his legs were covered with white spots (*kino*). Ahu Hanga-varevare, near Tahai, is one of the places where navel cords were hidden. In 1886 Easter Island natives told Thomson that the people who walked over certain rocks near Ana-hoi-hangaroa were afflicted with sore feet. Thomson (215, p. 484) remarks, "We received many solemn warnings in regard to it."

Immediately after birth the child was washed in a large calabash filled with warm water heated with hot stones. According to Knoche (121, p. 660) hot, flat stones were applied to the stomach of the mother after childbirth, to keep the waist without folds. I heard no mention of this custom and the pitiful condition of young women after several childbirths does not testify to the efficiency of this precaution. A woman who has had children is called *heipara*. The same word applies to a plant which produces young shoots.

BIRTH FEAST

A feast was celebrated on the day of the child's birth (*te topanga*). The father's family presented a gift of food to the mother's family. As at the pregnancy feast, the woman ate first or, at her suggestion, her husband started the meal. It was forbidden to cook sweet potatoes in the oven. The oven was tapu and refuse was buried carefully in the ground. Two feasts were given for the first-born child only, whose name was given by the father's brother or sister.

CHILDHOOD

A small child, until he is 6 months old, is a *puepue*; at 6 months he becomes a *poki-tua-huri* (child-who-can-turn). When the child was 6 or 7 months old, his father's brother cut his hair with an obsidian point (*mataa*). At the same time a brother or cousin of his mother gave him a basket containing three or five chickens. This ceremony was called *puoko varu* (hair cutting). When the child began to creep, a maternal uncle gave him a basket with fowls (*kete hakaraka*, basket of crawling). Another present was given to him when he put on his first breechcloth of tapa (*hami-haka-hune*). At 8 or 10 years of age he was tattooed on his legs. At this time his maternal uncle offered him 20 or 30 fowls called *moa o te kona* (fowls for the legs) which became tapu; they could not be eaten by the family but could be traded to a foreigner or transferred to another family, according to the rules of the *koro* (p. 346).

The child was surrounded by many tapus. His head was considered sacred

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and his mother was very careful to avoid holding food over him, as any food that touched his head must be discarded. My informant Victoria inadvertently carried sweet potatoes in her child's hat and was obliged to throw them away because they had come in indirect contact with the child's head. When a child was old enough to marry, his head was no longer sacred.

Modern children have a carefree existence, perhaps not very different from that of old days. They gather near the beach and spend the entire day playing or swimming in the sea. They are particularly fond of riding and are excellent horsemen from an early age. Some of them accompany their parents in shore fishing, and I knew a little girl 11 years old who caught fish with a small spear. Young children help their parents, and many fathers are pleased to rid themselves of all work and to transmit it to their sons.

SECLUSION

Legends tell of girls who were kept in seclusion (*huru*) inside huts so that they might acquire a fair complexion. When they appeared in public later, they aroused great admiration for the whiteness of their skin. According to one popular Easter Island tale, the girl in seclusion was daily washed (*hopu*), deloused (*aruke kutu*), combed (*harihari*), stained (*akui*) with turmeric and red earth, and her clitoris was stretched (*haro matatuu*) so that it would be long and hanging.

Easter Islanders pointed out to me two caves in Poike which were said to have been inhabited by *neru*, boys and girls who were separated according to sex and were secluded by their parents in caves where they lived for years. They were probably of chiefly families and, as in Mangareva, were isolated in order to become white and stout and to manifest by their appearance the distinguished position of their families. Attendants of their own sex cared for them. Their parents brought them food, and it is said that during the smallpox epidemic of 1863 many of the *neru* died of starvation because there was no one left to feed them. They lived in idleness and allowed their nails to grow long. It may be recalled that the wooden hand, purchased by G. Forster (83, vol. 1, pp. 582-583) on Easter Island and given by him to the British Museum has long nails, thus proving the accuracy of at least part of the tradition. The *neru* sometimes appeared at feasts but stayed a little apart from other people. The fact that the secluded boys and girls lived in chastity induced the natives of later times to translate the word *neru* as virgin, nun, or women observing celibacy. The following songs refer to the *neru*:

Ka huru koe, neru e, i te ana.	You are secluded, O *neru*, in the cave.
Tautau ipu kiea o nga neru.	Hanging is the gourd with red ocher of the *neru*.
Tuai era ka huru koe, neru e.	You have been secluded for a long time, O *neru*.
A te manava he mate,	I am in love,
Ka huru koe, neru e,	You are secluded, O *neru*,
Ka huru kataia ritorito.	Being secluded you have become white.

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643 to Roussel (190, p. 358) kings, who in the beginning were considered deities and had absolute power on the island, did not retain such authority for long but kept only the prestige of a supernatural power and certain personal privileges. The political power of the king was slight, at least during the last period of Easter Island history; his exalted position rested mainly on the religious beliefs of the natives, and his functions, although limited, had a strong bearing upon the magico-economic structure of the island culture. (For a detailed discussion of the functions of Easter Island kingship, see Métraux, The kings of Easter Island: Polynesian Soc., Jour., vol. 46, pp. 41-62, 1937.)

POSSESSION OF DIVINE MANA

643 773 778 The *ariki-mau* or king of Easter Island was a divine chief who had mana (supernatural power) and was therefore surrounded by tapus; as a member of the Honga lineage of the Miru tribe he was descended from the gods Tangaroa and Rongo. (See genealogy, p. 127.) The following legend shows how a king with an oversupply of mana might bring calamity to his people:

The king Nga-ara slept with three wives, all of whom became pregnant and gave birth to sons. The first two sons had no mana but the third son, Rokoroko-te-tau, mysteriously possessed it. The people brought flower wreaths and standards for Rokoroko-he-tau whom they considered king. Sharks and seals came to the island and chased and ate the people, and white fowls appeared. These three things, together with a white feather diadem, manifested the power of Rokoroko-he-tau. Nga-ara was afraid that the sharks and seals would kill all the people, so he stole Rokoroko-he-tau during the night and hid him near the Rano-aroi and later killed him. The sharks, seals, and white fowls disappeared, never to return.

This brief legend emphasizes the extreme importance of mana; in spite of the tradition that succession to title went to the eldest son, the first two sons of Nga-ara were disregarded because they had no mana, and the third son, who possessed it, was considered king. Throughout Polynesia the birth [787] of the divine chief was often associated with many portents and wonders, but in this tale the phenomena which accompanied the king's birth were emanations from his mana and were the cause of his destruction.

Another legend, strange and incomprehensible in its present form, deals with the mana of the king and of his miraculous birth. Although there is no way of knowing whether this tale refers to a legendary king with great mana or to the son of the god Tangaroa, it contributes to a better understanding of the various aspects of a king's personality.

Tangaroa and his brother went to the beach at Hangavee one night. After catching some fish they went on to Huareva and to Akahanga. At Anavaero Tangaroa copulated with a hen which he saw sitting on a stone. The two brothers continued to Hanga-nui, where they fished, and to Vaimangaro where they bathed in the sea. There Tangaroa killed the hen, plucked it, and put it in a basin. Both returned to Tuu-tapu. An old woman from Hanga-nui went to the well at Vaimangaro. There she heard a child crying from inside the stomach of the hen in the basin. She took the child to her home, cared

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for him, and named him Tu-ki-haka-he-vari (Curled-up-as-a-chicken-in-an-egg). He grew up and stayed with her at Hakarava. One day he asked the old woman, "Where is my father?" She replied, "There, where there is a dark cloud." Then the boy called to the people, "Make a litter to carry me to Tuu." This the people did and they accompanied him to Pare where he remained. Some died on the way, others died after they had returned to their homes, because of the mana of Tu-ki-haka-he-vari.

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Here, as in the preceding tale, the king's mana is so strong that it becomes deadly to those who carry him. Moreover, the king is carried on a litter; probably to prevent any contact between the ground and the mana embodied in him. This is the only hint of such a custom on Easter Island, but the attitude fits the Polynesian pattern of culture.

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TAPUS

The sacredness of the *ariki-mau* obliged both him and the people of lesser rank to subject themselves to a series of restrictions in their mutual relations. No one could touch any part of the king's body without running the risk of falling dead or of suffering severe pain. There is no doubt that the head of the king was the most sacred part of his person—so sacred that he was obliged to let his "hair grow without ever allowing the *mataa* (obsidian knife) to pass through it" (190, p. 360). The head of every man was more or less tapu (p. 103), but probably only the king's head was so sacred that the hair on it could not be cut. When the missionaries wanted to cut the hair of the little Gregorio, the last king of the island, "the child opposed it firmly and yielded only through force or fear." The anger was so general that "the hairdresser was on the point of being stoned when he achieved his work" (190, p. 360).

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The hands of the king were also tapu. The only activities permitted to him were making fishing lines and nets and fishing in canoes. The extremely contagious nature of his mana extended to all his belongings which were consequently tapu. "Their huts, their enclosure, their food, their entire persons and everything they used were tapu for other persons of both sexes" (190, p. 360).

It was not permissible to see the king or his son eat or sleep, and none but his servants who were noblemen (*ariki*) were allowed to enter his house. There were two classes of servants, the *tuura* and the *haka-paapa*. The first provided for the maintenance of the king, tilling the soil, gathering seashells, and fishing for him; and the latter attended the king in the capacity of valets and served his meals. A fragment of legend mentions only one *tuura* and one *hakapaapa*, but the informant who dictated the legend told me on another occasion that there were several of each class of servants, though he was not sure of the number. I am unable to tell what truth there is in Palmer's statement (168, p. 282) that next to the king there was a "prime minister, who was obliged to be a celibate."

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Several foods were tapu to the king. He could never eat rats and it is

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connected with the ruins of Anakena prove that it was an important site and the one most closely associated with the memory of kings. There is no doubt that it was a royal residence, but with the present lack of knowledge, the frequent and obligatory changes of the king's home are inexplicable and will undoubtedly remain so. Perhaps such changes concerned only a few kings of historical times and cannot be generalized.

SUCCESSION TO POWER

A king resigned his power in favor of his first-born son when he married. My informant, Juan Tepano, was positive about this fact which is confirmed by Roussel (190, p. 360): "The king resigned on the occasion of the marriage of his son, but his wedding could be delayed for a long time, since the custom of the country allowed him to marry only at an advanced age." This custom is similar to that in Mangareva where the chief yielded the rule to his son before his death. In the Marquesas, if Gracia's statement (91, p. 103) is correct, the eldest son of the chief took the title and rank of his father on the day of his birth while the old chief remained a sort of regent. In Tahiti, the child of a chief took the title and office of his father soon after birth; during the minority of the child the "father exercised all authority, though in the name of the child" (70, vol. I, p. 260).

INFLUENCE OVER NATURE

The bearing of the king on the magico-economic activity of his people is shown not only in the influence of his mana on the welfare of the people but also in his power over nature. When King Tuu-ma-heke was born a new mollusk called *kovare* appeared in the sea. White chickens multiplied at the birth of King Rokoroko-he-tau. There is still a belief among the natives that a great many plants vanished from the island with the kings who controlled them. The favorite variety of sweet potato called *huatea* is no longer found on Easter Island for it could not exist without the king who made it grow, explained my informant. Since the kidnapping of Maurata and his family no tortoises have appeared on the shore.

The following chant celebrated the king's beneficent influence upon nature, especially on the sources of staple foods. The chant is here presented as reconstructed and retranslated by me with the aid of Tepano. It had formerly been transcribed freely and erroneously by Thomson (251, pp. 523-524).

What does the king make fertile in the country?
Mars comes up, appears in the sky. The king makes the shoots of the white sweet-potatoes grow in the country.
Now he makes the sweet-potatoes favorable, the sky favorable, the ancestors favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
The crayfish, the *poopoo* fish, the conger eels, the *aohu* fish (*ape* fish?), the king makes fertile in the country.

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643 Now he makes the crayfish good to eat and the *poopoo* fish, the moss, the ferns, the *kavakava-atua* plants.
778 What does the king make fertile in the country?
The mosses, the ferns, the *kavakava-atua* plants, the king makes grow in the country.
533 Now he makes the mosses favorable, makes the ferns favorable, he makes the roots of
539 the *kavakava-atua* favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
He introduces the tuna fish, the *atu* fish, and the *ature* fish.
Now he makes the tuna fish favorable, he makes the *atu* favorable, he makes the *ature* favorable too.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
The yams, the taro, the sweet-potatoes the king makes grow in the country.
Now he makes the yams, the sweet-potatoes, the sugar cane, the shoots favorable in the country, in the shade.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
The turtle, its abdominal shell, its legs—these he makes grow in the country.
Now he makes the turtle, its abdominal shell and its legs favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
The stars, the sky, the heat, the sun, the moon, the king makes fertile there above.
Now he makes the sky, the heat, the sun, and the moon favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
Going up, he makes the dew, the heat, the sun, the moon favorable.
Now he makes dew, the heat, the sun, the moon favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
The chiefs, the chiefesses he makes favorable in the country.
Now the king makes the chiefs, the chiefesses favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
Worms, earwigs, beetles, the king makes fertile in the country.
Now he makes the worms, the earwigs, the beetles favorable, he makes them grow in the country.

643 The first fruits of all the products of the land were presented to the king
241 with great ceremony (described by Roussel, 190, p. 360). "Only the king could initiate the harvesting of crops which were tapu as long as he ordered them to be."

643 Certain priestly functions related to nature were incumbent on the king.
782 In time of drought he must send his son or another *ariki-paka* to perform rites beseeching Hiro to make rain fall. It may be assumed that the king also prayed to Hiro for rain, that he had something to do with the fertilizing of the fields, and that his power was beneficial to chickens.

SUPERVISION OF SEMI-RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

643 Assisted by a priest, the king had to eat in every house before it could
845 be occupied by its owners. He also had to perform rites on a new boat. All
553 twins were presented to him to be given a "royal name." I was unable to
342 obtain details about this name or the mystical beliefs connected with twins.

643 Tradition tells that the recently tattooed young men gathered in Anakena
304 and exhibited their designs to the king who sat on the head of an old image to examine them. If he was satisfied with the work of the artist, he said to the young man, "Ka hoa ki Tuna-roa" (Go to the ahu Tuna-roa), but if he

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single body is figured among the petroglyphs and occurs commonly among signs of the tablets.

Significance of Wooden Images

Like the stone images, the *moai kavakava* and *paapaa* are enigmas. Their true significance was not even clear to the natives 50 years ago. Though our information about them is vague, we know their ritual use. The earliest evidence on this subject is contained in a letter of Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 69):

> I was unable to discover any positive act of a religious cult. In all the huts are found small images 30 cm. tall, representing men, fish, and birds. Beyond any doubt they are idols, but I never noticed that any kind of respect was payed to them. Sometimes I saw the Kanakas lift their images up in the air, make some gestures, and accompany the whole thing with a sort of dance and with an insignificant chant. What was their purpose? I think they did not know it themselves. They simply did what they had seen their fathers do, without reflecting longer about it. If you ask them what it means, they will answer you . . . that so is the custom of the country.

Palmer (171, p. 180), though he calls them "lares" or "household gods", asserts that they were not worshipped and that the natives knew nothing about the significance of the motifs carved on them. Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 128) states definitely that these images were considered sacred. Gill (89, p. 181) learned from an Easter Islander that such images were worshipped.

Fifty years ago Geiseler (90, p. 32) was told, probably by Salmon, that these images represented secondary gods which were exhibited during the feasts, notably those celebrated at harvest time or when the first fruits were offered. The rest of the time, the images were kept in huts, carefully wrapped in tapa. During feasts, everyone displayed the images he possessed, hanging them on his person. The more images a man could wear, the greater chance he had of having his requests granted by the deity. Sometimes individuals were loaded with 10 or 20 images. The images were unwrapped amid chants and rocked in cadence on the arms of the owners. The natives took pride in the number of images they owned and in their workmanship. In confirmation of Geiseler's information, I was told repeatedly that the images were taken out during feasts by men who danced with them. My informants demonstrated vividly the grotesque and often obscene gestures made by those who carried images.

Though Thomson (215, p. 534) had access to the same source of information as Geiseler, he mentions only that the images "were given a place of honor at feasts and ceremonies." However, he seems certain that they were representations of spirits and that they figured deceased chiefs and persons of note. There is perhaps some truth in Knoche's statement (126, p. 95) that "the images of *toro-miro* were carved when the member of a family died whose name was given to the figure."

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532 778 Routledge (194, p. 270) concludes that "on the whole the female figures and those with ribs seem to have been considered to be supernatural beings; they are generally called *akuaku*, and sometimes *atua*, while the others represent men."

Edge-Partington (68, p. 180) writes that the images were kept in the huts "either in niches (?) or suspended from the ridge pole, and were carefully wrapped up in nature cloth or tapa."

532 769 779 The wooden images showing protruding bones were intended to represent the spirits of dead people. This conception, which was very ably suggested by Desmedt (59, pp. 134-135) is borne out by traditions and by the statements of natives who still conceive the spirits of the dead as identical with the wooden images.

532 773 778 539 The legend accounting for the origin of the first images has been recorded several times (194, pp. 269-270; 222, pp. 61-64; 27, pp. 137-138). Most of the natives know the story, and their version may be useful for a true understanding of the nature of wooden images:

He manau Tuu-ko-ihu mo (o)ho ki Hare-koka i Hanga Hahave. He noho Tuu-ko-ihu, he moe i Ahu-te-peu. He otea i te po a, he ea, he oho ki Vaitaka-tiki, ki Puku-takaure, ki Ahu-ava-a-atea, ki te Henua-kava. He iri, he oho, he tuu ki Punapau. I ka tuu atu ki mua ki te hitirau, ko te varua e momoe roa i te aro o te hitirau. He kavakava no, he ivi no, ina he hakari. Te ingoa nga varua era ko Hitirau ko Nuku-te-mango. He oho Tuu-ko-ihu. He rangi mai etahi varua ko Hauriuri te ingoa: "Ka ara korua, ku tikea ana te korua kavakava e te ariki." He veve veveri, he ara, he ui atu ko te tangata. He oho ro ana, he ea ki runga, he oho ararua, he pu mai amua, he ui ki te ariki: "Pehe taau mea maa." He ki te ariki: "Ina." He ki hakahou: "Atikea te mee aau i ui." He ki te ariki: "Ina." He ngaro hakahou tau nga varua era.

He oho Tuu-ko-ihu. He piri hakahou ki a Tuu-ko-ihu i Mataengo. He ui hakahou: "Pehe taau mee maa, e te ariki e." He ki Tuu-ko-ihu, "Ina." He oho hakahou Tuu-ko-ihu he piri hakahou i Puku-rautea. He ui hakahou ki a Tuu-ko-ihu: "Pe he taau mee maa e te ariki e." "Ina." Ana i hauki Tuu-ko-ihu ku tingai ana o te ui i to raua kavakava oira ana tingai. He ngaro hakahou.

Tuu-ko-ihu decided to go to the house called Hare-koka (House-of-the-cock-roaches) at Hanga Hahave. Tuu-ko-ihu was living then in Ahu-te-peu. Early in the morning he left and went to Vaitaka-tiki, to Puku-takaure, to the Ahu-ava-a-atea, to Henua-kava. He went up and climbed to Punapau. He happened to see in front of the red stone two spirits who were sleeping near the (cliff) of red stone. They were just ribs and they had no bodies. The names of these spirits were: Hitirau and Nuku-te-mango. Tuu-ko-ihu went on. Another spirit, named Hauriuri, cried: "Awake, the king saw your ribs." They woke with a start and saw this man. They went, (they) climbed and crossed the way in front of Tuu-ko-ihu. They asked: "What do you know?" "Nothing", answered the king. They said again: "Perhaps you noticed something." "No", said the king. The two spirits disappeared again.

Tuu-ko-ihu went on. (But) the spirits met him again at Mataengo. They asked again: "What do you know about us, O King?" Tuu-ko-ihu answered, "Nothing." Tuu-ko-ihu went on and he met them again at Puku-rautea. They asked Tuu-ko-ihu again: "What do you know about us, O King?" "Nothing." If Tuu-ko-ihu had told them he had seen their ribs, they would have killed him. They disappeared again.

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He turu, he oho Tuu-ko-ihu he tuu ki Hare-koka. I ka tuu atu Tuu-ko-ihu ki Hare-koka ko te tangata, e uru ana i te umu, te umu ava, he hoahoa i te tutuma o te toro-miro. He oho atu Tuu-ko-ihu, he too mai te tutuma, he mau ki roto ki te hare. He tarai i te moai e rua etoru raa. He oti te moai rae, he too mai i te rua tutuma, he tarai hakaou. He oti te rua moai ko Hitirau, ko Nuku-te-mango.

He moe mata hakahou Tuu-ko-ihu i te po, e hauru no a Tuu-ko-ihu, he ui atu te mata o te varua o Tuu-ko-ihu ki te nga vie erua ko Paapa-ahiro, ko Paapa-akirangi. He ui atu te mata o te kuhane o Tuu-ko-ihu. He kokomo ro ana i te rima. He veveri te kuhane o Tuu-ko-ihu. He ara, he otea, he too mai, he tarai hakahou erua hoki moai paapaa. He oti te tarai ararua moai, he too mai ahaha moai. He amo, he oho ki Ahu-te-peu, he tuu ki Ahu-te-peu ki roto ki te hare. He hakarere, he hakamaromaro a i roto i te hare. He noho.

He tanu mai te moai o te tangata ki a Tuu-ko-ihu mo anga tangata. I puhi i te umu i tau, i te moa, i tao i te ika, i te uhi, i te kumara, he mau mai ki a Tuu-ko-ihu o te anga i te moai. He noho Tuu-ko-ihu, he tarai, he oti te moai nei. He oti te moai nei, te raa ananake anga era Tuu-ko-ihu i te moai. O kope era o kope era e ku tata mai a te moai hoou he tarai hakahou. He moai umu ana ka vaai ki te hoa moai. He moai umu kore ana ka hakarere i ai ananake te moai e anga era.

He tuu ki toona raa, he oho mai te tangata ananake moai tae vaai. He ki ki te ariki ki a Tuu-ko-ihu: "E te ariki e, e Tuu-ko-ihu e, e ka vaai mai koe i tamatou moai." "Ka noho mai." He too mai Tuu-ko-ihu, he hakahaere i te moai i roto i te Hare-hakahaere-moai. He nape iho te ingoa o te hare ko te Hare-hakahaere-moai. He haere te moai kavarikavari i roto i te hare. He ui te mata o te hoa moai e haere mai era. He ki te tangata: "Kareka te moai ku haere ana iroto i te hare." Ai ka ui no te mata ai ka maharo no: "Kareka te moai e haere mai era." He tuu ki te ahiahi, he hohoki te tangata ki toraua hare ina kai vaai Tuu-ko-ihu i te moai i hohoki ro ai.

Tuu-ko-ihu went down and arrived at Hare-koka. When he arrived there the people were taking the stones from the oven. They were throwing away firebrands. Tuu-ko-ihu took two firebrands and carried them into the house. He carved first one image, then another from the firebrands. He finished two images [representing] Hitirau and Nuku-te-mango.

Tuu-ko-ihu fell asleep and dreamed of two women: Paapa-ahiro and Paapa-akirangi. His soul in the dream had seen they were hiding their sex with their hands. Tuu-ko-ihu awoke with a start; he got up and when it was day he took wood and carved two flat images. He loaded them on his back and went back to Ahu-te-peu. He left the images standing in the house where he lived.

The people went to Tuu-ko-ihu with images to be carved. They lit their oven and cooked in it leaves, fowls, fish, yams, and sweet potatoes; and they brought this food to Tuu-ko-ihu, so that he would carve images. Tuu-ko-ihu carved and finished various images. He was working all day long. People and more people came with new figures to be carved. They [got] the images when they offered an earth oven to the owner of the images. But if there was no earth oven for the images, he [Tuu-ko-ihu] kept all the images he had made.

One day all the men whose images were not returned went to Tuu-ko-ihu and said: "O king, o Tuu-ko-ihu, give us our images back." "You wait." Tuu-ko-ihu made the images walk in his house and thereafter the house was called "The-house-of-the-walking-images." The images walked and made turns and turns. The owners of the images saw their images move and said: "How amusing are these images moving in the house." When they saw that, they were full of admiration. "How funny are these moving images." In the evening these people went to their houses, but Tuu-ko-ihu did not give [back] their images when they returned.

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532 539 773 778 Routledge's version of this legend (194, p. 270) presents a single variant. The two spirits, in order to be sure that Tuu-ko-ihu has not seen their ribs after dark "prowled around the house, listening with their hands up to their ears, to hear if he gossiped about what he had seen, intending if he did so to kill him. The ariki, however, held his tongue." In the version published by Vives Solar (222, p. 62) the two spirits are awakened by a spirit called Akere-kere, who tells them that their ribs have been seen by Tuu-ko-ihu. Discarding the magical element of the tale, Vives Solar (222, p. 64) has Tuu-ko-ihu move the images by cords. On this misunderstanding, Knoche (126, p. 98) and later Brown (27, pp. 132-145) built their theory of the Easter Island marionettes and the parallels with Indonesia.

There is another tale about Tuu-ko-ihu and the images:

> There was a young man living in Riu-o-hatu. He planned to make a feast (*koro*) for his father. For that purpose, he raised chickens and had a house built. All his people worked on it. When the *koro* house was finished, he left his people and went to Ahu-te-peu to call on Tuu-ko-ihu and ask him for a statue. He arrived at Tuu-ko-ihu's place and asked: "Give me a statue, o king, in loan for the feast in honor of my father." The ariki said: "It is all right." Tuu-ko-ihu gave him an image. The young man took it and returned to his *koro*. He broke sugar-cane stalks, dug out yams and sweet potatoes and put bananas in a ditch. He lit the oven and put in it fowls, yams, and sweet potatoes. Some people sang *riu* chants, others, *ei* chants and others *a te atua*. They took all the foods—bananas, sugar cane, fowls—to the *koro* house. They set up the image at the door of the *koro* house, and the people went to admire this image. They spent three days in the *koro* house. This *koro* house was nice, and the people ate plenty of sugar cane and bananas.
>
> When the *koro* was finished, the young man stayed there. The third day, the *koro* caught fire. Men, women, and children shouted: "The *koro* is burning, the *koro* is burning." This cry sounded at Hanga-roa, at Motu-tautara, at Ahu-te-peu. Tuu-ko-ihu heard it and said: "O my brother 'The jumping-little-bird' (*piu-hekerere*) jump!" A servant of Tuu-ko-ihu was sent to Riu-o-hatu. When the young man saw him, he said: "Your image is burnt up." The servant said: "No, it did not burn." He looked for it and found it lying far away. The servant called the owner of the *koro* and said: "Here is your image." He returned it to Tuu-ko-ihu.

532 778 The connection of the images with the spirits of the dead is made evident in the first myth. The second shows that these images were exhibited during feasts and that perhaps their presence was indispensable. Numerous details about their handling, such as their ceremonial unwrapping, would be incomprehensible unless we suppose that these images were really gods or representations of deified ancestors. The handling of the images and the chants addressed to them correspond to the various methods of coddling and flattering the gods used in the Tuamotus and Tahiti.

In the course of time the artistic element may have become predominant; thus many of the images may have been carved and carried merely as ornaments or precious property, displayed during a feast.

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Comparisons with Other Polynesian Wooden Images

Wooden images of humans are common to the cultures of eastern and central Polynesia. The decayed condition portrayed in Easter Island images is foreign to other Polynesian art, except that of the Chatham Islands. A Moriori image (206, pl. 4) has protruding ribs and a retracted abdominal region. However, all other features are treated quite differently from those on Easter Island images. Ribs are frequently represented on the famous tree carvings of the Chatham Islands and ribs may be seen in some Maori *hei-tiki* (206, p. 66) and in the cave drawings from the South Island of New Zealand. The position of the arms—slightly flexed and lying along the thighs—is the same in Easter Island and Hawaiian images (142, p. 89).

Small wooden images seem to have been used throughout Polynesia as temporary tabernacles for gods and ancestral spirits. Probably such was their function on Easter Island. In New Zealand sticks with conventionalized figures carved on one end were used as temporary shrines for the gods (20, vol. 1, p. 281). In the Whanganui district small images were kept in the house "each of which is dedicated to the spirit of an ancestor of the family, who is believed to enter into its substance, on particular occasions, in order to hold converse with the living" (203, p. 63). Occasionally Maori wooden images were made to represent defunct relatives before which the living wept while food was offered to them (20, vol. 2, p. 60). Tahitian *ti'i* (wooden images) were also temporary receptacles for lesser gods or spirits who were called into the image by a priest or a magician (107, p. 203). The naturalistic Mangarevan wooden figures represented gods, especially the god Tu. The small stone and wooden images of Hawaii and the Marquesas were probably ceremonial objects but their exact use is not known.

Good-Luck Objects

The magic significance attributed by one of my informants to the signs on the tablets probably derived from the fact that the natives consider as talismans or amulets every stone with an incised figure. Numerous boulders with engraved designs on them have been found on the island. The design which is most frequently reproduced on the stones is that of the vulva, stylized as in figure 42, *e-f* (p. 258). Rarely the outline of a fish, a bird, a turtle, or a man is seen (fig. 42, *b-c*). The carved figures might have increased the magic power of the stones or simply distinguished them from ordinary boulders.

J. L. Young, who collected some magic stones with the incised representation of the vulva, was given the correct name, *maea mo moa* (stone for fowls) and was told that the stones "were placed under domestic fowls with the idea that the fertility of the eggs was thus promoted" (229, p. 171). A

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few years before Young's visit, Thomson had purchased from the natives what he calls a "fowl god" (*maea moa*, stone of fowls) which he describes (215, p. 537) as "a beach pebble with slight traces of tool-marks" that was placed under a setting hen before the eggs were hatched. Stones incised with designs of the vulva are common on the island and had no connection with the purported ceremony of the *hakatoro-* (stretching of a girl's clitoris) as suggested by Young (229, p. 32). The stretching of the girl's clitoris (*repe*) was not a special rite, but a long process of deformation which lasted for years under the care of the girl's mother. Routledge counted 49 signs of the vulva (*komari*) on the rocks at Orongo and observes that the "*komari* is frequently found on hollow stones and elsewhere" (194, p. 449). The same symbol appears on a stone which was given to Thomson as a fish god (215, p. 537):

> This rough, ill-shaped stone was one of the objects really worshipped by the natives. Some of them bear evidences of tool marks, but it does not appear that any effort was made to carve them. These gods were never common, and were possessed by communities or clans [lineages], and not by individuals. The legends claim that they were all brought to the island by Hotu Matua and the first settlers.

In a field near Mataveri we found a large stone, about 3 feet high, on which the conventionalized design of the big-eyed god was carved five times. The location of this stone in the middle of the cultivated grounds resembles strongly the *kumara* gods of New Zealand, which were temporary abiding-places for the *atua* and were placed in potato fields to insure a good harvest.

Natives still remember that formerly fishermen carried in their canoes stones selected for their shape which were supposed to bring luck. Some looked like fish, others like cocks, and some suggested the form of a man. They were called *maea ika* (stones for fish). There were special ones called *maea kahi* for the *kahi* fish. These, according to Thomson (215, p. 537), had "no distinguishing characteristics."

Amulets were buried in houses. Thomson got a fair collection of them by digging beneath the door posts of ancient dwellings. "The majority are simply beach pebbles; others have been formed by rubbing; and one is a triangular-shaped stone with a face outlined upon it. These were placed beneath the houses, with much ceremony, and were supposed to ward off evil influences" (215, p. 538).

Natives frequently offered me stone blocks with natural holes which they called "nests for hens." They insisted that these stones, not unlike enormous egg-cups, were "good" for the hens and caused them to lay eggs. This interpretation was confirmed by the discovery of some of these stones in an old chicken house.

Among the "fetish stones" figured by Thomson (215, pl. 60, fig. 2) there is one identical with five stones in Bishop Museum (B3545) classified as "sharpening stones." All are elongated and have a more or less conical form. The porosity of the stones

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would make them convenient for polishing wood, but such a use is quite hypothetical. Three rectangular stones in the collection of Bishop Museum (B3546), labeled "idols", may have been fetish stones.

A small boulder in the Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadero, Paris, has a human face pecked on one side (fig. 55, *b*). The nose is on the same plane as the forehead. The protruding eyes are oval with a central round depression representing the pupil. The mouth is weakly indicated. The back surface is rough, as if it had been broken. A similar rough head is figured by Thomson (215, pl. 51, fig. 1) with protruding cheek bones and a large mouth. I saw another small stone suggesting a coarse pounder which had a very rudimentary human figure on the upper side. This was probably also a talisman.

Images for Protection of Houses

The low entrances of houses were guarded by images of wood or of bark cloth, representing lizards or rarely crayfish. The bark cloth images were made over frames of reed, and were called *manu-uru*, a name given also to kites, masks, and masked people. According to my principal informant, there were two of these images, one on either side of the door. Tepano protested violently against the statement of Brown (27, p. 134) that the images housed spirits or *akuaku*. He insisted over and over again that "the *manu-uru* had no significance at all, that they were only ornaments of the house and that nobody but children or women were afraid of them." But one must not discard entirely the possibility that some supernatural power was attributed to the images. Very likely they were believed to protect the dwellers of the house against evil spirits.

Three of these images have been preserved. One is in the Belfast Museum (for description see 214, p. 11, figs. 12-13) and I have examined two others in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge (figs. 30, 31) which are made of plaited bundles of bulrush covered with sheets of tapa sewn over the framework and covering it entirely. The eyes and the ears are separate pieces stitched to the tapa covering. The nails are long sticks and the teeth are pieces of bulrush. The conventional style of the wooden images shows its influence in many details: the strongly aquiline nose, the protruding vertebrae and the two bulky malleoli. Tattooing motifs and facial painting have been carefully reproduced on both images (pp. 238, 239).

The large tapa images erected during the *paina* feasts (p. 344) were almost 4 meters high and a man could climb into them. A member of the La Pérouse Expedition (130) saw near an ahu, "the figure of a child two feet long, with arms crossed and the legs hanging down." This description suggests an image of the type described here.

Tepano contended that the wooden lizards were clubs (*paoa*) used to defend the entrance to the house; the same explanation is given by Geiseler (87, p. 37). Certainly wooden images were associated with house doors and their religious significance may be inferred from the fact that when a new house was built, "the wooden lizards were put formally on each side of the entrance to the porch" (194, p. 243). Possibly the images were pulled out and brandished like clubs when the village was attacked.

Many wooden lizard images have been preserved in museums in America and Europe (fig. 42, *d*). A few of them are genuine but most are clumsy

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532 modern imitations. Some very small lizards were pierced transversely through the raised backbone and were hung on a string around the necks of dancers during feasts (87, p. 32). Other images were carried in the arms and were moved rhythmically (87, p. 48).

Figures of lizards combine a triangular animal head with other features derived from the human images. The protruding eyebrows meet in a ridge that continues downward toward the mouth. The eyes are of inlaid bone and obsidian. On the neck the seventh cervical vertebra protrudes as a knob, as in the *moai kavakava* (wooden images). The ribs are treated as those in the human figure, but they are fewer. The abdomen is more or less on the same level as the under jaw and the chest. The vertebrae form a crest along the back and often have a fanlike termination, similar to a bird tail. On the lumbar region there is usually a ring, like that on the human images. The arms are long and thin and extend from under the shoulder blades across the upper part of the chest, and terminate under the head in humanlike hands, although the position suggests the legs of a lizard. The legs are either bent up or extended along the tapering point of the piece of wood out of which the image has been carved. The point was intended to be stuck into the ground. (See 68, p. 73; 99, pp. 129-131.)

On an image in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania the hips and the upper part of the thighs are covered by a raised ridge which evidently represents the upper outline of the pelvic region and expresses emaciation (99, p. 130). Another wooden image of the same type has features more like a rat than a lizard. The ears are prominently raised and the mouth is distinctly ratlike (92, p. 96).

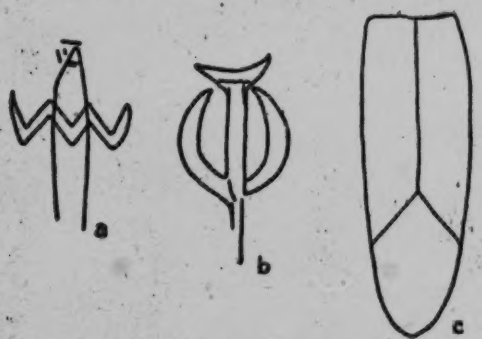

FIGURE 43.—Signs engraved on skulls used as talismans: *a*, bird without a head (U. S. Nat. Mus. 31064); *b*, bird (from Routledge, 194, fig. 96); *c*, vulva (U. S. Nat. Mus. 31064a).

ENGRAVED SKULLS

● 778 [565] The power that *ariki-paka* (noblemen) exercised over nature, through their mana and perhaps through their knowledge of rites, was not restricted to their lifetime. The skulls of *ariki-paka* were supposed to have the magic power to multiply chickens. They were thus highly valued and kept as precious talismans in the stone hen houses. These skulls were called *puoko moa* (skull for the fowls). They were always marked in front with an incised

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design (fig. 43). Of the two skulls I collected, one bears the figure of a dance paddle (*ao*), the other that of a bird very like the one engraved on the skull reproduced by Routledge. In 1912, Knoche (123, pp. 214-215, fig. 73, *f*) obtained three magic skulls which were similarly marked. The designs are described as follows:

> The three designs are on the foreheads of the skulls and have probably been incised with a sharp piece of obsidian. One of the figures shows a simple system of lines. It is placed exactly above the supra-orbital of the right side and ends on the left side. There are three pairs of lines, and one of them is perpendicular to the others. The pairs are combined in a curious way so that they produce two rectangular triangles. The second design has the form of circles. The lower periphery is almost parallel with the glabella. The third figure is the best incised and is on the oldest of the three specimens. On the left side of the frontal bone there are four isosceles triangles with parallel sides which cross each other on the summits. The right side of the fourth triangle is lacking. The summit is on the glabella. The base of the triangle is slanting to the left socket.

Present-day natives still believe in the power of the skulls and are reluctant to part with them. They say that the skulls of the *ariki-paka* (noblemen) were stolen from the ahus. Relatives of the dead whose skulls had been stolen felt the insult deeply and sometimes resorted to war to avenge such injuries. This information is invalidated by the tradition concerning the skull obtained by Routledge (194, p. 240). It was the skull of Hotu who made it an heirloom because "it was extremely good for chickens" and he did not wish it to go out of the family. His son gave it to a relative whose son was an old man, and from him Routledge bought it. The incised skull which was sold to me by Tepano had been presented to him by the uncle of his wife.

This belief in the fertilizing power of *ariki* skulls is paralleled in other parts of Polynesia. In the Marquesas the skulls of chiefs were preserved separately and were brought out for certain public activities. Such skulls were taken on fishing expeditions to ensure a good catch and to protect the fishermen from sharks (104, p. 166). Maoris used to place the skull or bones of their ancestors in the sweet potato fields to procure a good harvest (20, vol. 1, p. 387).

DANCE ACCESSORIES

Dance Paddles

The two types of dance paddles were the *ao* which was large and the *rapa*, which was small. These paddles were held at the middle of the shaft by the dancer or chanter and were twirled very rapidly in the rhythm of the chant. The catalog of the Museum of the University of California contains an interesting statement about one of these paddles (1159): "It was used by chiefs in their war dances before the king. They were twirled and shaken in close proximity to his face as tho' to frighten him."

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Young collection there is a lump of coral which would have served this purpose. Unfortunately the origin of the specimen is uncertain. 324

One piece of basalt (Bishop Mus. B3553) has parallel grooves on both sides. Judging from the V-shaped cross sections of the grooves this stone must have been used for grinding the cutting edges of sharp instruments, probably knives or small adzes. 412

Comparisons with Other Polynesian Cutting Implements

The tanged knives of Easter Island resemble slightly a Moriori flint knife (206, pl. 26, *d*), though the Moriori specimen is cruder. An obsidian knife which is quite similar to the Easter Island spear heads and stone knives with a long cutting edge and a rudimentary tang have been found in the Chatham Islands (206, pl. 26, *g*, *e*). Bennett (19, pp. 63-64) describes a few stone knives found on Kauai in the Hawaiian islands. They are somewhat like Easter Island knives but are far more crude and lack the semicircular cutting edge characteristic of Easter Island specimens. The stone knife in Polynesia seems to be a culture trait without significance for comparative purposes. 412 171

SANCTUARIES

The funerary cairns or ahus of various descriptions that extend along the coast in an almost continuous succession were probably the sanctuaries of the Easter Islanders corresponding to the maraes of central Polynesia. These structures, which have been used until recently as burial vaults, are associated in the memory of the natives with religious feasts; it was probable only after the introduction of Christianity that their former sacred function was forgotten. Like the maraes each ahu belonged to a distinct lineage. There is still a dim recollection of the ties uniting certain families to specific ahus. In this respect the analogy with central Polynesia is so striking that there is little doubt that the ahu is the equivalent of the marae. 346 778

The study of the ahus constitutes the most important and complex division of Easter Island archaeology. I have published elsewhere a general survey (153) and Dr. Henri Lavachery is preparing a detailed discussion of the ahus, based on his field work. Here it is sufficient to give a general account of their main features.

Ahus are the most common monuments on the island and give it much of its individuality. Most of them are located near the shore, and except on the barren headland of Poike and the steep cliffs of the southwest point, form an almost unbroken line along the coast. They are most numerous around coves and other particularly habitable spots and are generally associated with house foundations. Many ahus have been destroyed and the names of others forgotten. Yet Routledge (194, p. 166) estimated that there were 260 ahus on

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346 778 the island, of which 20 were inland. Lavachery listed only 183 but this is probably far below the actual figure.

Ahus may be classified into four types: 1, image ahus which are the largest and most elaborate; 2, rectangular ahus (*ahu-avanga*); 3, ahus with one or both ends sloping toward the center or outer extremities (*ahu-poepoe*); 4, semi-pyramidal ahus (*ahu-paepae*), simplest of the four types. All ahus are essentially mounds of stones. The differences between the various types are in the number of stones piled up and the degree of care taken in their disposition. The ahus are said to have been decorated with white stones, similar to those used on the tapu signs and the hats of stone images. (See p. 300.)

Image Ahus

346 The large image ahus are the masterpieces of Easter Island architecture. The principles of construction are identical with those of smaller ahus, but the workmanship has been perfected, and the primitive heap of stones has taken a definite shape due to the development of retaining walls (fig. 51).

These retaining walls (fig. 52, pl. 4, *A*), made of slabs or of regular blocks carefully fitted, extend on the seaward side of the structure and conceal the coarse central heap of stones and rubble. The central portion of this wall projects outward toward the sea to form a platform or stage on which the statues were erected. This salient corresponds to the body of the ahu and the two lateral walls may be considered the wings. A little below this stage the main body of the construction, made of piled-up stones, slopes inland, extending into a long, slanting surface (*tahua*) which stops at a low row of slabs. The approach to the slope is sometimes paved with big boulders which continue onto the large surface (*tahua*). On some ahus the wings or walls on either side of the central portion are lower than the middle platform. They slant to the ground level, and narrow from the median line toward the ends, thus giving the landward side of the ahu the appearance of a semipyramid. On other ahus (ahu Mahatua, Hanga-o-honu) the wings, though lower than the stages, do not slant to the ground; they are limited by two sloping walls of fitted masonry on both sides of the *tahua*.

In ahu Vinapu the seaward wall is formed of rectangular slabs of lava fitting one against the other, whose surfaces have been perfectly smoothed by grinding with sand and water (pl. 7, *B*). The corners of the central portion are rounded in elegant curves. Usually the seaward vall is made of basalt blocks of fairly regular, square shape. Most of the material is lava which cooled in regular beds. The rectangular blocks are laid in rows of approximately the same depth.

The slab-lined vaults for the dead were sometimes located under the stage but more often under the sloping terrace. Many vaults were probably built while the terrace was being constructed and were left accessible as tombs; others were apparently later additions.

One of the largest ahus on the island is that of Hanga-o-honu near La Pérouse Bay (pl. 4, *A*). The following description is taken from the notes of Lavachery (134, pp. 155-156):

The seaward wal, 84 meters long and 5 meters high, is made of rectangular blocks of stone. The salient is 30 meters long and 4 meters wide and rises above three steps, which, according to Lavachery, are 1 meter wide and 1.5 meters high. The middle step contains the burial vaults. The slope of the wings, on both sides of the salient, forms a

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346 These ahus are especially numerous on the north coast, in the region of Hangoteo. One of them, between Hangoteo and Puna-marengo, is surmounted by a low stone pillar. Routledge calls this second class of *ahu-poepoe*, "wedge-shaped" ahus, since their form suggests a giant wedge (pl. 5, *A*). There are six of them on the island.

Rectangular Ahus

Routledge does not include in her classification of ahus a type which, though not common, exists in several places on the north coast. This type is a rectangular heap of stone with burial vaults in the interior (pl. 5, *B*), differing from the "wedge-shaped" variety of the *ahu-poepoe* only in having the upper surfaces flat rather than sloping. Ahu Avanga Vai-porotu, situated on a sea cliff near Vai-tara-kai-ua, is a typical rectangular ahu.

It is made of large boulders and from afar it resembles a *haremoa* (hen house). It is almost rectangular, although the four corners are slightly rounded. It is 6 meters long, 2.8 meters wide, and 1.3 meters high. The center of the heap of stones is hollowed, forming a big vault 3 meters long, 60 cm. wide, and 65 cm. deep. The walls are not perpendicular but are made up of rows of stones which converge toward the top. In the vault were three skeletons. On the seaward side of the ahu, there are stones placed in the ground in crescentic form.

Another structure of the same type, but in poorer condition, is below the hill of Vai-tara-kai-ua. Its vault is larger and deeper, and it is possible to stand inside. Long slabs close the entrance at the top.

Comparisons with Other Polynesian Religious Structures

778 346 171 Easter Island sanctuaries have numerous affinities with religious structures in other parts of Polynesia (Mangareva, the Tuamotus, Society Islands, and Necker Island in the Hawaiian group). This fact is of primary importance for a clear understanding of the origin of Easter Island culture. The Easter Island ahus are essentially stone platforms; the paved slope of some may be regarded as a sort of court, but in general the space in front of the ahu is not defined by any enclosure or pavement.

The stone platforms of Easter Island are always termed ahu, a word which also means "to swell, a protuberance, a heap." In the Tuamotus and Tahiti the word ahu is restricted to the raised stone platform at one end of the marae. In New Zealand *tu-ahu* is a sacred open place with an erect post, stone, or row of stones at one end (20, vol. 1, p. 288). On Nukuhiva and Uapou in the Marquesas, ahu is used for the religious structure which in the other islands of the group is called *me'ae*. In the Hawaiian Islands, the word *ku-ahu* designates an altar or a stone platform at a sacred place.

The word *tahua*, which on Easter Island applies to the paving in front of an ahu, is the equivalent of the Marquesan *tohua* which designates the tribal assembly place at which feasts were given and certain classes of cere-

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monies performed. In New Zealand the word *tahua* (courtyard) is a synonym of marae. In the Tuamotus and Society Islands, *tohua* formerly designated the level ground of the marae and is now used for floor. Linton (142, p. 53) thinks that in southeastern Polynesia *tohua* is the ancient term for assembly place. The use of this word on Easter Island supports his hypothesis.

In the Tuamotus, Cook Islands, Austral Islands, Rapa, and Mangareva, the term marae designates a sacred place. In New Zealand it applies to the village green and has nothing to do with the *tu-ahu*. In Samoa, Tonga, Futuna, Uvea, and Pukapuka the word *malae* has the same meaning. Linton (142, p. 50), Emory (78, p. 40), and Burrows (35) have come to the conclusion that the marae, as a religious structure, resulted from the combination of the platform (ahu) with the assembly court which assumed a sacred character. This fusion of the two elements occurred in central or marginal Polynesia after the Easter Islanders separated from the other Polynesian groups. Hence the Easter Island sanctuary remained a platform without a defined court and was called ahu and not marae.

Mangarevan maraes are more similar to Easter Island ahus than to any other stone structures in Polynesia. They have a rectangular platform across one end of an unenclosed court (71). The court face of the platform has one or two steps and the largest maraes, at least, have burial vaults in the platforms. Marquesan mortuary maraes (*me'ae*) are analogous to Easter Island ahus only in general structure, in name, and in the presence of wooden and stone images on the platforms (141, pp. 32-40). Tuamotuan maraes have a platform and rectangular court; upright slabs at the rear of the platform occupy exactly the same positions as the statues on Easter Island ahus (78, p. 22). Although the dead were not buried in the Tuamotuan platforms, the maraes were connected with the cult of deified ancestors. The inland maraes of the Society Islands are very similar to Tuamotuan maraes and hence have affinities with Easter Island ahus (77, pp. 38-40). Maraes of this general type have been found on uninhabited Necker Island, northwest of the Hawaiian group (72, pp. 60-71), and on Sydney Island in the Phoenix group.

The Easter Island ahu is probably a very old type in Polynesia. When the Easter Islanders left central Polynesia the religious platform faced with slabs had been developed, but this structure had not yet become associated with a court (marae). The inland side of the platform which is stepped in Mangareva and the Society Islands became in Easter Island a sloping surface with but one or rarely two steps retained. The striking originality of the Easter Island ahu lies in the two slanting wings which are found nowhere else in Polynesia.

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near the quarry. The final polishing was done with abrasive volcanic stones called *punga*. Though the amount of work involved was probably less than is generally believed, the two weeks allowed by Routledge for the completion of a statue seems to me too short a time.

Routledge (194, p. 181) suggests that it was never intended to remove many of the statues carved in the quarry. One statue still adhering to the rock is 20 meters long, a size that precludes the possibility of transport. Though the statue is apparently finished, there is no indication of any work to detach it from the ledge of tuff. Another image in the interior of the crater rests on its side with the back overhanging the cliff. It is unlikely that it would have occupied such a position if it was intended to be lowered down. There is further evidence that many of these images were merely rock carvings, "little more than embossed carvings on the face of the rock without surrounding alley-ways" (194, p. 181). Near Anakena we discovered a small stone image on a ledge of basalt. This occupied the same position as the large Rano-raraku images and was probably just a rock carving.

Statues on the Ahus

There are two classes of Easter Island statues—those which still stand in the crater, at the foot of Rano-raraku, or on the plains, and those which once surmounted the ahus or burial places. Though they are made of the same stone and are of the same general style, there are differences which are worth stressing.

The large ahus (p. 284) were all surmounted by *moai* or busts carved from the soft volcanic tuff of Rano-raraku crater. All these have been pulled down with the exception of the base of a statue on the right wing of ahu Tonga-riki. The number of statues which were erected on the ahu depended on its importance and perhaps on other circumstances which we will never know. Ahu Tonga-riki had 15 statues; ahu Akahanga, 13 statues; ahu Vinapu, 6; and Hanga-o-honu, 5 or perhaps 6. Five statues was the average for ahus of medium size. Te-pito-te-kura, near La Pérouse Bay, and a few others had only one statue. The images rested on large square slabs which still stand on the higher platforms of most of the ahus. The main characteristics of the statues may be defined as follows:

The long head is about three sevenths of the total height of the statue (134, p. 182). The top of the head is flat, the forehead narrow. The back of the head is vertical and, with the straight line of the ears, gives to the head a flattened and square appearance. The eyebrows are well marked and overlap elliptic cavities which represent the sockets of the eyes (pl. 6, *A*). The nose is long, the tip slightly upturned and the nostrils expanded. The thin lips of the mouth are pursed, giving the image a scornful expression. The chin has a sharp edge. On both sides the head is framed by conventionalized representations of the ear with elongated lobes. The nipples are sometimes so strongly delineated by the converging surface that the bust has a feminine appearance. When the

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coming of the Company ship or of the *Baquedano*. Winds and the mewing of cats are considered bad omens. A frigate bird (*makohe*) circling over a house foretells death for one of the inhabitants.

TAPU

The persistence of the fear of tapus and of the precautions taken against infringing them indicates the importance of tapu in ancient religion and social organization. The violation of a tapu was an insult that could be avenged only with bloodshed. In fact, the missionaries found that the tapu belief was the only strong religious conviction against which they had to fight. They vitiated the power of the tapus by walking over sacred ground and pulling down tapu signs (230, vol. 6, p. 129). The most daring of the natives who were devoted to the missionaries did the same with no ill effects. An anecdote reported by Father Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 130) reveals the earnestness with which the natives observed the tapus and the psychological effects produced by the sense of guilt after trespassing:

> The tapu affected several kinds of food and particularly a big fish called kahi, that is caught only during the four summer months. The eating of this fish was especially prohibited to women and children: some disease would have been the punishment of their audacity. In order to destroy this superstition we used to eat kahi in the presence of the people, but this was not a successful argument since the natives considered us as being tapu. Therefore after having given the example we would encourage the spectators to imitate us. To distract their minds from the fear that might have made them sick, we tried to amuse them in several ways. This method was very efficient. However, once they came to tell us that at the Pupuranga there was a boy, a Christian, called Reone (Leon) who was feeling very ill after having eaten kahi. I went to see him and I found him seized with convulsions. But, instead of taking his illness seriously, I made fun of him and twitted him with his ridiculous superstition. The other children laughed with me, then I told him to go play with them. He did as told and recovered.

Scattered throughout the island may still be seen tapu signs consisting of small piles of stone "like balls in a park of artillery" (130, vol. 1. p. 79). Originally the top stones were painted white, but this has been washed off by rains (pl. 3, *C*). Such tapu signs, called *pipi hereko*, were noted by Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 296), La Pérouse (130, vol. 1, p. 70), Du Petit-Thouars (65, vol. 2, p. 225), Geiseler (87, p. 28), and other more recent visitors, though it is not always certain whether they refer in their descriptions to the tapu signs or to the semi-pyramidal ahus. Routledge (194, p. 232) believed that these cairns were memorials to the dead and that the tapu for the dead extended to them. However the cairns were the ordinary symbols for any tapu. Isolated cairns may have indicated boundaries of spots defiled by some impurity or sanctified by the mana of a chief or priest.

Modern natives feel the sacred significance of the piles of stone and remember that they were erected to put the surrounding land under an interdict

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(*tapu-peera, rahui*). These tapu cairns vary in size, some being as much as 1.5 meters high and others consisting of a few stones piled up. (See 171, p. 174; 87, p. 28.) Now Easter Islanders connect the cairns with funerals, the only reason for a tapu that they clearly remember. That tapus were not associated with death alone is indicated by other customs and fears which have survived. Tapu beliefs are displayed in the precautions surrounding a child's head; in the belief that stomach aches are provoked by sexual intercourse with *ariki* women; and in the sacredness of spots where navel cords have been buried. Certain places on the island—among them the strip in front of the ahu—were considered tapu, and thus dangerous for people who stepped on them. According to Geiseler (87, p. 28) not only the statues and the ahu were tapu but the island of Motu-nui upon which no one was allowed to land except in the months of July, August, and September. Early visitors (90, p. 95; 83, vol. 1, p. 568) observed that the natives were sometimes displeased when they walked over the paved area of the ahu or on the pedestals of the statues, or even when they examined the stones of the monuments. However, the islanders must have thought that the foreigners were not subject to the same tapus as themselves and that they had nothing to fear from the gods, since they did not seriously attempt to keep them away from monuments.

The king (*ariki-mau*) was highly tapu because of his mana, and the bird-man, after being designated by the god Makemake, was considered tapu for a year and lived in seclusion. Several foods were prohibited to the king and other *ariki*, but other foods could be eaten by the common people only after they had been presented to the king (p. 132).

Both the words *rahui* and *tapu-peera* refer to temporary and arbitrary prohibitions laid on a piece of land by a chief or some influential proprietor. This measure prevented trespassing or reserved the produce of the land for the individual or for some special occasion. The sign of the *rahui* was a branch hung near the tapu place or a pile of stones erected on it. All crops were under a royal tapu until the first fruits were offered to the king in a ceremony before the harvest. Roussel (190, pp. 259, 428) writes: "Woe to the man who dared to violate the tapu. He payed for it with his goods and even with his life." Death inflicted by beating with a club was the penalty for such a crime. Routledge (194, p. 232) says that the spot marked by a tapu could not be approached in daylight. The owner of a piece of land on the coast could protect his rights to fish or collect mollusks on the shore along his estate by setting up a *rahui*. "This *rahui* consisted of three piled up stones on land contiguous to the portion of the sea he wanted to reserve for his own use" (190, p. 429).

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individual who assisted at the feast. At night the people at Orongo retired into the houses of their respective lineages. During the feast, if a group wanted to remain for a while in the house of the god, they had to put a circlet on the head of the statue Hoa-haka-nana-ia (p. 298) which stood outside, and the people who had been there earlier left. (This rite as it is recorded here is meaningless.)

As September approached, the *hopu* on the islet paid increasing attention to the birds and spent all day reciting prayers or incantations. When they had reason to think that the birds had begun to lay eggs, they rushed out from the caves to look for them.

The *hopu* whose master was not designated by Makemake would step on an egg without seeing it, whereas the *hopu* of the candidate selected by the gods would see it immediately. As soon as he discovered the egg, he jumped on a stony prominence called Rangi-te-manu and from there he shouted, "So and so, puoko te varu (shave your head)." This announcement was heard by a man who kept watch in a cave below Orongo, called Haka-rongo-manu (Listening-for-the-birds).

Before returning to Orongo the unsuccessful *hopu* waited for the winner lest the crossing of the channel be unsafe. The winning *hopu* put his egg in a little basket which he dipped into the sea, and then tied to his forehead. The man with the sacred egg was always the last to leave the island. Being blessed by the gods and having with him an object overflowing with mana, he had little to fear from sharks, and his supernatural power gave protection to his fellow contestants. The magical properties of the egg, together with the protection of the gods, made the winning *hopu's* swimming not only safe but extremely fast.

At Orongo the *hopu* handed the egg to his employer who had in the meantime shaved his hair, his brows, and his eyelashes. A priest (Routledge says a *rongorongo*, which is very unlikely) tied a strand of red tape and a piece of sandalwood (*ngaungau*) around the bird-man's arm which was tapu from having received the egg. The priest recited a special incantation during the ceremony.

The relatives of the bird-man sang and danced (*hokohoko*), celebrating their victory. The bird-man held the egg on the palm of his hand wherein lay a piece of tapa (*haka epa*). He walked down the slopes of Rano-kao toward Mataveri, dancing and chanting. Tepano still remembered the tune of this chant, but unfortunately he did not know the words. It sounded like tremulous weeping, and my informant said that the bird-man cried and "behaved like a god." He gave me the description as it had been given by the old men. "The men had dancing paddles (*rapa*) in their hands and they jumped with them. They wore on their heads wigs of women's hair, tapa headdresses or wreaths of *toro-miro* leaves. Tufts of women's hair hung be-

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hind. Everybody else carried *oo* (dance paddles) and they shook their bodies." 796

Early information gathered at Tahiti by Admiral de Lapelin (129, p. 110) 792 describes the bird-man as he came down from Orongo after the finding of the egg:

> The man who was lucky enough to find the first egg or the first small bird hurried to show it to all the other competitors. They shaved his head, his face was painted in red and black; all those who had found eggs after he did constituted his retinue. These warriors distributed eggs to those they wanted to keep near the king who was elected for a year, without any lack of regard for the king who reigned by right of primogeniture. 796 792 302 643
>
> Each with an egg on his hand and the new majesty with a bird hanging on his shoulders walked about in the surrounding places singing and dancing. The new king designated two or three persons who must be sacrificed for the prosperity of his reign. It was the choice of the victims which caused a war among the tribes every year.

The new bird-man went to Rano-raraku where he remained in seclusion 792 in a house whose foundations may be seen at the foot of the volcano, close to the giant statues. Other houses on the slope of Rano-raraku and near ahu Tonga-riki were designated to Routledge as having been used by bird-men. More likely, although no proof may be produced for or against it, seems the tradition that there were houses for *tangata-manu* in most of the larger settlements which had important image ahus. Routledge (192, p. 351) considers this multiplicity of *tangata-manu* houses to be a modern development. She was also told that the bird-men of the western tribes took up residence at Anakena.

The *manu-tara* egg was emptied after three days, filled with tapa, and 792 hung up inside the bird-man's house. It was credited with great magical 778 virtues and the natives believed that it made the food supply more abundant. The deep-sea fishing season opened with the coming of the first *manu-tara*. Routledge (194, p. 262) says that " . . . till their arrival all fish living in twenty or thirty fathoms were considered poisonous."

The seclusion of the bird-man lasted one year, during which he was under 792 strict tapu, especially during the first five months. Routledge (194, p. 248) 784 says that he could not leave the house, "sleeping all the day, only coming out to sit in the shade." He was not allowed to bathe himself or to eat food other than that which was prepared for him in a special oven. His wife might go to Rano-raraku, but she could not "enter his house and he hers, on pain of death." The *tangata-manu* was attended by an *ivi-atua*, who, according to Routledge, was not an ordinary priest, but a poor relative of the hero. This attendant or priest remained in the same hut which was divided in half by a partition. He prepared the food for the bird-man and himself, cooking his own in a separate oven. Clark (52, p. 145) heard that the bird-man did not wash or cut his hair or nails during his year of seclusion.

Thomson (215, p. 482), Routledge (194, p. 264), and I were all told that 792 gifts of food were brought to the *tangata-manu*. He was entitled to the first 688

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Rokunga[17], to his nephew. Tepano was born during the year Utupiro, thus named by a bird-man called Pua-arahoa, who chose the name Utupiro for himself and for the year. Tepano's account confirms Routledge's statement (194, p. 260) as to the nomination of the bird-man which she says "might be taken up at once or not for many years; if not used by the original nominee, it might descend to his son or grandson." 792 173

Tangata-manu were buried in a special ahu called Orohie which was not far from the house where the bird-men were secluded. The ahu, like all of this section of Rano-raraku, is in poor condition now. It was (194, p. 264) "a low rough wall built into the mountain, the ground above it being levelled and paved." When a *tangata-manu* died, five cocks were tied to each of his feet. People of all the tribes came with cocks, and *tangata-manu* of other years were present at the feast. They stood a little apart, not mingling freely with the other people, and untied the cocks attached to the dead man's feet. Presents of cocks were received by the son of the *tangata-manu*, but he could not eat them. The cocks which had touched the ground of the ahu where his father lay were especially tapu. 766 792

The tapus which surrounded the bird-man extended to the *hopu*. During the year following his discovery of the egg he could either go to Orohie or reside in his own house where he was obliged to live in a corner separated from the other people by a partition. The hand which touched the egg was so sacred that he could not use it in eating. His sacredness was contagious to his wife and his children who were also secluded and were not permitted to join other people. 792 784 778

The bird-man relinquished his retreat after one year, and the new bird-man took his place. He either concealed the old egg in a cranny of Rano-raraku, threw it into the sea, or preserved it to be buried with him. No tapus upon a *tangata-manu* after his seclusion have been recorded. 792 778

According to Routledge (192, p. 349) there was another search for eggs, several weeks after the first quest, entrusted to the *ao* who had settled at Mataveri. They went to Motu-nui to get the young *manu-tara* known as *piu* and to gather many eggs. These were put in baskets, tied to the foreheads of the swimmers, and thus brought to the land. They were taken around the island and, according to one account, as far as Orohie. Routledge (192, p. 349) writes: 796

> It was not until the *piu* had been obtained that it was permissible to eat the eggs, the period of commencement being known as "Toro", and they were then consumed by the Mata-kio only, not by the Mata-toa; the first two or three eggs, it was explained, were given to the god, to eat them would prove fatal. [262]
>
> Some of the young *manu-tara* were kept in confinement till they were full grown, when a piece of red tapa was tied around the wing and leg and they were told: "Ka oho ki te hiva." "Go to the world outside;" there was no objection to eating the young birds.

[17] Rokunga, according to Routledge (192, p. 351), was the name of the last bird-man. The last feast was performed at Orongo in 1866 or 1867. To gain prestige, Tepano has probably applied to himself what he heard about the past. [554]

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769 574 gather enough provisions to entertain a large crowd of guests. The guests also brought food for distribution in order to add to the abundance and gaiety of the feasting.

My informant Tepano was at first firm in his assertion that the *paina* was given for dead men only; later he said it could be held to honor a living father as well, and described the ceremony as similar to a *koro* feast. This last is the version collected by Routledge (194, p. 233) who was told that a *paina* might honor "a father, or possibly a brother who might be either alive or dead." However, Routledge probably confused *paina* and *koro* feasts.

769 574 778 The feast and the *paina* ceremony were held on the ahu where the honored dead relative was buried, and the ceremony was directed by an *ivi-atua* (priest). A huge image of a human figure made of rods and reeds and covered with tapa was erected on the landward side (front) of the ahu. *Paina* images have been variously described. The present natives remember them as follows:

> The framework rods were sufficiently strong to hold the weight of a man. On the perpendicular poles were fastened 11 or 12 rings of "reeds" (?), the diameter of each ring decreasing toward the upper part of the pole. Tapa cloth was sewn onto the conical framework and painted. The head was made separately, and consisted of a framework of wood and reed covered with tapa cloth. The mouth was left open so that the man who climbed into the figure could see and speak. The top of the head was surmounted by a circlet of frigate bird (*makohe*) feathers. The eyebrows were made of black feathers; the eyes were painted and the balls were represented by black shells (*pure uriuri*) surrounding a white disk cut from a human skull (*ivi puoko*). [According to Routledge's informants (194, p. 233) the eyes were open so that the man inside could see out.] The nose was a piece of tapa stuffed with reed. The body of the *paina* was stained yellow with turmeric dye. Perpendicular lines on the neck symbolized a man, but dots on the forehead and a black triangle on the cheeks (*retu*) indicated that the *paina* stood for a woman.

[531]

One of Gonzalez' officers (90, p. 95) writes:

> They have another effigy or idol, clothed and portable, which is about four yards (*varas*) in length: it is properly speaking, the figure of a Judas studded with straw or dried grass. It has arms and legs, and the head has coarsely figured eyes, nostrils, and mouth: it is adorned with a black fringe of hair made of rushes, which hangs halfway down the back. On certain days they carry this idol to the place where they gather together, and judging by the demonstration some of them made, we understood it to be the one dedicated to enjoyment, and they name it Copeca.

Sixteen years later, M. de Langle of the La Pérouse expedition saw another *paina* which he describes as follows (130, vol. 1, p. 81):

> We found near the last of them [ahu] a kind of layman or effigy of reeds, representing a man ten feet high, and covered with a white manufacture of the country; the head of a natural size, the body thin, the legs pretty exactly proportionate, and a net hanging to its neck in the shape of a basket covered with white cloths, and apparently containing grass. By the side of this sack was the figure of a child two feet long, with the arms crossed and the legs hanging down. This layman, which could not have stood there many years, was perhaps the model from which statues are now erecting to the chiefs of their country.

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The *paina* figures were not destroyed but were carefully preserved to be used in some future ceremony. The heads especially received great care. Stuffed tapa images, which may have been small *paina* or models of such images, are preserved in the Belfast and Peabody Museums (figs. 30-31).

Gonzalez (90, p. 95) gives *kopeko* as the name for the "clothed idols." The exact meaning of this word, generally combined with *ati* (*ati kopeko*), has been translated differently by various natives, but it always refers to a slain man and implies the idea of vengeance. Routledge (194, p. 233) says that the *paina* was put up "on a special spot, where for example, a man has been killed." Since the *paina* seems to have been a feast celebrated in honor of a dead parent, it is not impossible that special rites were observed or allusions made to his fate when he had been slain by an enemy.

Near all the large ahus there are circular depressions having an average diameter of 3 or 4 meters on which the *paina* image stood. These holes are particularly conspicuous on the Ahu-te-peu where there are five of them near the stone slope of the ahu. They are slightly excavated and paved with stones. No other ahu has so many *paina* holes. Perhaps it is because of this number that the natives told Routledge that no more than five *paina* might be celebrated in one season. "The *paina* was kept in place by four long ropes, one of which passed over the ahu" (194, p. 233). The chickens raised for the feast by the host and his family were placed at the feet of the image and distributed among the guests.

The details of the *paina* ceremony have been forgotten. Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 66), who must have attended one, describes superficially what must have been a decadent or at least an exceptional performance:

> The *paina* are held in summer, and they attract all the population. Every participant takes his food for the time of the feast and especially for the last day which is the day of the banquet. All these rations, placed on the same line and covered with branches, formed the principal element of the feast. After having run for many days and after having performed all sorts of evolutions according to all the rules of the ceremonial, then comes the final clearing up. They swallow all the sweet potatoes and then put together in bundles all the branches which covered them, and they set up a sort of column or mast. That is the meaning of the word *paina*.

It is remembered that the son of the deceased, who was the host, climbed inside the image with a chicken in his hand. He passed his head through the mouth of the *paina* and delivered a long speech to the crowd thronged in front of the ahu. He spoke of the dead, exalting his virtues and praising his memory, and afterwards boasted about himself for having organized the feast. The relatives of the dead, on hearing the speaker's panegyric, started the funeral laments: *Aue tatu ue* . . . At a given moment or during all his speech, the host stretched his arm to show everybody the chicken or chickens he was holding.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

formulated a theory which expresses ideas that could neither have been invented in modern times nor transmitted by European contacts. Charli Teao was convinced that each sign was connected with a special song of magical virtue. Thus, a person who wanted to impose his will on another had to take a tablet, look at a sign, and chant the appropriate formula. The combined power of the charm and of the drawing might even cause death. The tablet signs (*rona*) had the same mana as identical signs engraved on skulls or rocks. They could make people successful in any activity symbolized by a design (fishing, dancing). Modern natives have a superstitious fear of the tablets. I was told that three years ago a man called Beriberi found a fragment of tablet. Soon after several members of his family died; believing them bewitched by the tablet, he burned it.

Teao pretended that his uncle had taught him the symbolic value of certain signs. For instance, two birds lined together meant friendship, an octopus was a charm to cause death, and so on. For several reasons, I strongly distrust his interpretation, though perhaps he was right when he asserted that many signs represented gods. One of the most frequently repeated tablet signs shows the god Makemake.

The various attempts to decipher the tablets establish only one fact: the tablets were never read, but were used during chanting. Even now the natives pretend to know tablet chants. Had early European inquiries conceived the tablets as something other than an actual script they might have solved the problem of the Easter Island tablets with a few questions.

It is highly significant that all natives who were asked to interpret an individual sign explained what it represented and never gave it a phonetic value. Even if we assume that all the experts who were interrogated were only partially initiated into the science of writing, it is strange that no one tried to spell the signs. With only a glance at the tablet they started to chant. Even a little schooling would have taught them enough to spell a few letters or a few syllables if the signs had some phonetic value. Further evidence will show that the Easter Island symbols were not a script.

Many interpretations of the tablets have been given by scholars or amateurs who tried to solve the problem without the help of natives. A detailed review of the opinions formulated by these investigators is beyond the scope of this book, the more so since they have been summarized by Lehmann (139, pp. 261-264) and by Gusinde (93, pp. 333-337). On the other hand, it is advisable to refute a few errors which have become almost traditional.

Many interpreters regard the tablets as genealogical tables (Meinicke, 152, vol. 2, p. 234; Geiseler, 87, p. 27; Thomson, 215, p. 517; Meyer, 159; Gusinde, 93, p. 336; Haberland, 97, pp. 97-100). This is purely hypothetical and unsupported by tradition or native statement. No Polynesian people has lists of ancestors which require 1,600 signs to record. It may be argued that several descent lines are included in one tablet or that information

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

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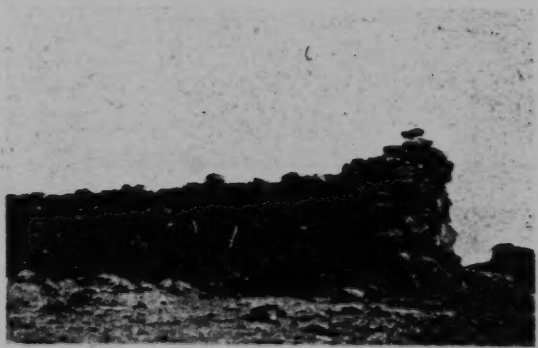
172
333

A

B



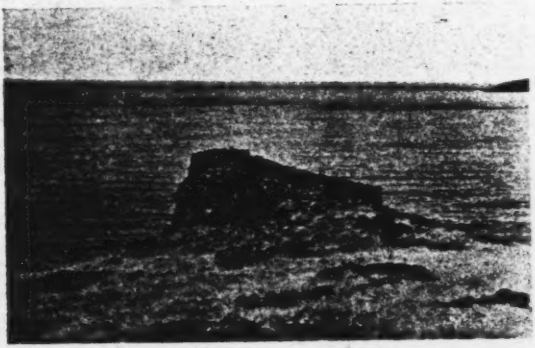
C

A, FACADE OF AHU HANGA-O-HONU MADE OF FITTED, SQUARE SLABS OF BASALT; *B*, AHU TAVARI, SEMI-PYRAMIDAL TYPE (*AHU PAEPAE*); *C*, *AHU POEPOE* NEAR AHU MAHATUA ON THE NORTH COST.

[End Plate IV]

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

H78 ●
172
333



A

B

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C

A, AHU-TE-AVA NEAR ANAKENA, WEDGE-SHAPED AHU; B, RECTANGULAR AHU NEAR ANAKENA; C, UNFINISHED STATUE AT RANO-RARAKU, ATTACHED TO ROCK BY FLANGE.

[End Plate V]

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

532

A

778
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B

532

C

A, STATUE FROM AHU NEAR ANAKENA BAY; *B*, AHU VINAPU, CORNER; *C*, PETROGLYPHS AT ORONGO.

[End Plate VII]

4:Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1945
OY2 Easter Island OY2

172 flattened appearance. The eyebrows are well marked and overlap the
532 elliptical cavities which represent the sockets of the eyes. The nose is
764 long, the tip slightly upturned and the nostrils expanded. The thin lips are pursed with what seems a scornful expression. The arms, slightly flexed, cling to the bust with the hands joined over the abdomen, below which the figure is cut off.

172 The other sculptures on the island—the lonely images on the plain
532 and those that guard the slope of the volcano Ranoraraku—have the same features except that there are no sockets for the eyes. This part of the face, as in some modernistic sculpture, is defined only by the ridge of the eyebrows and by the flat plane of the cheeks below. The lower part of these statues tapers to an enormous peg, which was sunk into the soil.

171 The function of the *ahu* images can be surmised from analogies with
532 the rest of Polynesia. The old Marquesans, close relatives and perhaps
778 forebears of the Easter Islanders, adorned their stone platforms with statues which represented their ancestors. Among all the natives of central and marginal Polynesia, there is the same tendency to give human form to ancestral gods presiding over the sacred places. In the sanctuaries of central Polynesia stood huge slabs that were erected in the same position as the Easter Island statues. These slabs were receptacles for the souls of the ancestral gods, who entered them when they were called by the priests. The Easter Island statues are merely a more realistic development of this idea, favored by the existence of easily carved tufa deposits. Their sculptors elaborated rather than originated a tradition.

172 Everywhere on the island statues are to be found: on top of volcanic
532 hills, along cliffs, and in places which seem almost inaccessible. Their mass must have made their transportation difficult. As a matter of fact, no one has yet explained how some of them were hauled from the quarry and then erected on the platforms on the opposite side of the island.

483 Of course, there are many other instances of people with rudimentary equipment moving objects of great size—for instance, the dolmens and menhirs of Europe. As the statues that the Easter Islanders
[532] erected on their sanctuaries were of the native tufa, they were not exceedingly heavy for their bulk. Their weight ranges from 5 to 8 tons; only one weighs as much as 20 tons. But because the rock from which they were carved is soft, it must have been necessary to take innumerable precautions not to mar or break them in transit. This would have been easy if abundant supplies of wood had been accessible, but, except for a few bushes, the island seems always to have lacked wood. Good material for making ropes was apparently also lacking. The only thing they could have been made from is paper

5: Roggeveen T-5 (1721-1722)1908
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

our oysters. When these Indians go about any job which might set their ear-plugs waggling, and bid fair to do them any hurt, they take them out and hitch the rim of the lobe up over the top of the ear, which gives them a quaint and laughable appearance[1]. These people have well proportioned limbs, with large and strong muscles; they are big in stature, and their natural hue is not black, but pale yellow or sallowish, as we saw in the case of many of the lads, either because they had not painted[2] their bodies with dark blue, or because they were of superior rank and had consequently no need to labour in the field. These people have also snow-white teeth, with which they are exceptionally well provided, even the old and hoary, as was evidenced by the cracking of a large and hard nut, whose shell was thicker and more resisting than our peach stones. The hair of their heads, and the beards of most of them, were short, although others wore it long, and hanging down the back, or plaited and coiled on the top of the head in a tress, like the Chinese at *Batavia*, which is there termed *condé*. What the form of worship of these people comprises we were not able to gather any full knowledge of, owing to the shortness of our stay among them; we noticed only that they kindle fire in front of certain remarkably tall stone figures they set up; and, thereafter squatting on their heels with heads bowed down, they bring the palms of their hands together and alternately raise and lower them. At first, these stone figures caused us to be filled with wonder, for we could not understand how it was possible that people who are destitute of heavy or thick timber, and also of stout cordage, out of which to construct gear, had been able to erect them; nevertheless some of these statues were

[1] This habit is mentioned by Cook, and by Forster: see the last preceding footnote.

[2] Meaning tattooed, doubtless.

5: Roggeveen T-5 (1721-1722)1908
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

a good 30 feet in height and broad in proportion. This perplexity ceased, however, with the discovery, on removing a piece of the stone, that they were formed out of clay or some kind of rich earth, and that small smooth flints had been stuck over afterwards, which are fitted very closely and neatly to each other, so as to make up the semblance of a human figure[1]. Moreover, one saw reaching downwards from the shoulders a slight elevation or prominence which represented the arms, for all the statues seem to convey the idea that they were hung about with a long robe from the neck right down to the soles of the feet. They have on the head a basket heaped up with flints painted white deposited in it[2]. It was incomprehensible to us how these people cook their food, for no one was able to perceive or find that they had any earthen pots, pans, or vessels. The only thing which appeared to us was that they scrape holes in the ground with their hands, and lay large and small flint pebbles in them (for we saw no other kinds of stone): then, having got dried litter from the fields and laid over the pebbles, they set fire to it and in a little time brought us a boiled fowl to eat very neatly wrapped round in a kind of rush, clean and hot. Though they were thanked by means of signs, we had quite enough business in hand to look after our people so as to keep order among them, and prevent any affront being offered; and also that in the event of any struggle occurring they should not allow themselves to be taken by surprise, for although these people showed us every sign of friendship,

[1] "Some of the gentlemen who travelled over the island, and examined many of them, were of opinion, that the stone of which they were made was different to any other they saw on the island, and had much the appearance of being factitious." Cook, Bibl. no. 16.

[2] Roggeveen's description of the statues seems to show that he never got close to one of them, but saw them only from a distance of some hundreds of yards. His 'basket' was doubtless one of the coronoid cylinders of tufaceous rock by which most of the figures were surmounted.

6: Anonymous T-5 (1770)1908
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

point of the bay and saw a considerable number of natives posted on the heights, who collected nearer to the middle of the bay as we sailed towards it, so that by the time we let go there must have been more than 800 people, divided in batches, all wearing cloaks of a yellow colour or white. There was not the least appearance of hostility, nor of the implements of war about them; I only saw many demonstrations of rejoicing and much yelling.

At 8 o'clock in the morning we came to an anchor in this bay in 18 fathoms, gravel, coral, small shells, and fine sand. We moored East and West with one anchor to the E. and a kedge to the W. We saw some natives swim off and pass on board of the Commodore; the rest remained on the sea beach, in loose cloaks, shouting with delight and giving other signs, all intended to make us aware of their docility and of their desire to come on board or to see us on shore. At midday the two launches of both ships started (by the Commodore's orders), commissioned to examine and explore the whole circuit of the island, which up to this time we had understood to be a short one. To this end combatant officers, pilots, marines, and the necessary seamen were embarked, with six days' provisions, while the Commodore was making arrangements as to the mode of communicating with the natives, and for giving effect to the orders he bore. We have ascertained that what we took for shrubs of a pyramidal form are in reality statues or images of the idols which the natives worship; they are of stone, and of such a height and corpulence that they look like great thick columns; and as I afterwards ascertained in examining them and taking their dimensions the entire body is of a single block, and the crown or head-dress of another: there is a small concavity on the upper surface of the latter in which they place the bones of their dead, from which it may be inferred that they serve at once for idols and funeral pyres. But it

6: Anonymous T-5 (1770)1908
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

● 778 532 is difficult to understand how they can have set up such superb statues, and maintained them properly balanced on so many small stones as are placed in the base or plinth which sustains their great weight. The material of the statue is very hard stone, and therefore weighty; having tried it myself with a hoe it struck fire: a proof of its density. The crown is of a different stone which is plentiful in the island; but I have not seen any like that of the figure: its workmanship is very crude. The only feature in the configuration of the face is a rough excavation for the eyes: the nostrils are fairly imitated, and the mouth extends from ear to ear, as shown by a slight groove or excavation in the stone. The neck bears some similitude; arms and legs are wanting, and it proceeds from the neck downwards in the form of a rudely fashioned trunk. The diameter of the crown is much greater than that of the head on which it rests, and its lower edge projects greatly beyond the forehead of the figure; a position which excites wonder that it does not fall. I was able to clear up this difficulty on making an examination of another smaller statue from whose head there projected a kind of tenon, constructed to fit into a sort of slot or mortice corresponding to it in the crown; so that by this device the latter is sustained notwithstanding its overlapping the forehead. That a people lacking machinery and materials for constructing any should be able to raise the crown or headpiece on to a statue of such height causes wonder, and I even think that the stone of which the statues are made is not a product of the island, in which iron, hemp, and stout timber are absolutely unknown. Much remains to be worked out on this subject.

On taking geometric measurements of the tallest statue occurring along the beach of this bay I found that it was 52 Castilian feet 6 inches in height, including the crown, which has 4 feet 8 inches of the same measure, but it must

6: Anonymous T-5 (1770)1908
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

be mentioned that there are others of still greater height in the eastern part of the island. According to the observations of the exploring party there are others widely distributed about the country-side in the interior, which are about 2 or 3 *estados*[1]; and, besides these, innumerable others were met with consisting only of a pyramid or cairn of stones awkwardly piled together, on whose apex was set a round stone washed over with white earth, so as to produce a resemblance to a human skull, from which it may be seen that they have their tombs in these. The sculptured statues are called *Mody* by the natives, who appear to hold them in great veneration, and are displeased when we approach to examine them closely.

They have another effigy or idol clothed and portable which is about four yards [*varas*[2]] in length: it is properly speaking the figure of a Judas, stuffed with straw or dried grass. It has arms and legs, and the head has coarsely figured eyes, nostrils, and mouth: it is adorned with a black fringe of hair made of rushes, which hangs half-way down the back. On certain days they carry this idol to the place where they gather together, and judging by the demonstrations some of them made, we understood it to be the one dedicated to enjoyment, and they name it *Copeca*.

This afternoon the natives who were on board the Commodore returned ashore, and our boats followed afterwards with some of the officers and others. Some natives also came on board the frigate, and we made them presents of trifles in the way of clothing and trinkets. We found them to be a very poor and lowly people, whose possessions help to make them so importunate in begging that they become really too annoying. No ornaments of gold, silver,

[1] 1 *estadal* = four *varas*, or 11 ft. 1½ inches. These statues were therefore, roughly speaking, half the size of the one measured near the beach.

[2] 1 *vara* = nearly a yard.

7: Anonymous T-5 (1770)1908
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

It need not be said that the islanders were terrified at the noise of the gunfire and musketry: that must happen to people who have not used or seen such inventions.

The women made use of wraps or cloaks: one which covers them from the waist downwards, and another about the breasts. There are others also who wear only a rag or strip of some root, which they place in front like the men. They have several very low and small huts, and some like the one first mentioned.

Throughout the island, but especially near the sea-beach, there are certain huge blocks of stone in the form of the human figure. They are some twelve yards in height, and I think they are their idols. They could not bear to see us smoke cigars: they begged our sailors to extinguish them and they did so. I asked one of them the reason, and he made signs that the smoke went upwards; but I do not know what this meant or what he wished to say.

I fancy that the cloaks or wraps of the said islanders are made from the fibres of stems of the banana plant, which, when dry, they put together as may suit their purpose[1]: it is not woven, but is joined together by strands of the same material which they thread on bone needles of the size of a cloak-maker's needle. They make fishing-lines of this same fibre, as well as nets after the fashion of our small nets; but of little strength.

They have very little wood; but if they were to plant trees there would be no lack of it; and I believe that even

[1] The material was really the white inner bark of the paper mulberry tree (*Broussonettia papyrifera*); and the thread used for attaching the segments together was probably made from the *Hibiscus tiliaceus* bark. A Spanish naval officer may well be excused for falling into this error, as the employment of the fibre of *Musa textilis*, known to him as *abacá* and to ourselves as 'Manila hemp,' would doubtless have come under his observation in the Philippine Islands; and perhaps his running rigging may have been made of it even in those days.

8: Behrens T-5 (1721-1722) 1908
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

fowls, or other produce, would cast it all down before us and retire with all possible speed, and go their way without ceremony.

As for their complexion they are brownish, about the hue of a Spaniard, yet one finds some among them of a darker shade and others quite white, and no less also a few of a reddish tint as if somewhat severely tanned by the sun. Their ears were so long that they hung down as far as to the shoulders. Some wore white ornaments in the lobes as a special embellishment. They were painted on their bodies with wonderful birds and animals, although some were handsomer than others.

The women had their features streaked for the most part with a red pigment, which is of a much brighter shade than any we have anywhere else seen or found; but we do not know from what they make this beautiful colour. The women were all clothed with red and white wraps [*decken*]; and each had a small hat made of straw or rushes. They sat down before us and disrobed, laughed, and were very friendly. Others called from a distance from their houses and beckoned us with the hand to come to them; and there was, in the place where we were standing, a village of about twenty houses.

The people had, to judge by appearances, no weapons; although, as I remarked, they relied in case of need on their gods or idols which stand erected all along the sea shore in great numbers, before which they fall down and invoke them. These idols were all hewn out of stone, and in the form of a man, with long ears, adorned on the head with a crown, yet all made with skill: whereat we wondered not a little. A clear space was reserved round these objects of worship by laying stones to a distance of twenty or thirty paces. I took some of the people to be priests, because they paid more reverence to the gods than did the rest; and showed themselves much more devout in their ministrations. One could also distinguish these from the other people quite well, not only by their wearing great white plugs in their ear lobes, but in having the head wholly shaven and hairless. One of them was with us on board the ship as above related. They wore a head-dress of white and black feathers which were just like storks' feathers: so that we thought it likely that some of the storks in migrating from Europe at their accustomed season must rest here[1]. .....As the evening was drawing near we re-

[1] Here intervenes a long, speculative, and uninstructive dissertation on the migration of storks, quite irrelevant to the narrative.

13: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1917
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

some twelve different authorities, of whom four had been bird-men, three had served as "hopu," and one had acted in both capacities. We had camps at both Mataveri and Rano Raraku, we visited Orongo more than twenty times with different native escorts, and we were three times on the islet of Motu Nui. The Expedition was over sixteen months on the island.

Easter Island is renowned for its gigantic images, many of which stood on the burial places round the coast and were erected on the slopes of the mountain whence they were hewn, while large numbers still remain in the quarries in an unfinished state. The why and wherefore of these things is lost in mist of antiquity. There is, however, another and less known cult of the island which survived till living memory; it is noteworthy for its own sake, and it is doubly interesting if it can be proved to have had at least some connection with the great statues: this is the Bird Cult.

The population of Easter Island was divided into ten clans or "mata," which are frequently spoken of in two groups, those of Kotuu and those of Hotu-iti, districts which may be simply if roughly identified with the Western and Eastern portions of the island; legend tells of fierce wars between the rival parties. The clan which was in the ascendency at any given time, or the "Mata-toa," had the right to obtain the first egg of a certain migratory sea bird, but two or more clans are often found combining; the members of other clans, or the Mata-kio, might be present in the capacity of servants. The Mata-toa had a claim on the Mata-kio for boat building and food planting and "they were afraid to refuse." How this primary position was originally attained it is not very easy to say, presumably by superior strength; it might be held for one year or for several in succession and was said to be passed on at will to a favoured neighbour. The selection gave rise at times to heartburning: it is told that a man of

15;Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

532 idols,[1] from which it may be gathered that the great majority were still erect. The figures were, they tell us, all set up on [764] small stones, and burying-places were in front. It is interesting, in view of what we know of the prohibition of smoke near the 784 ahu,[2] to find one of the Spanish writing: "They could not bear us to smoke cigars; they begged our sailors to extinguish them, and they did so. I asked one of them the reason, and he made signs that the smoke went upwards; but I do not know what this meant."[3] Cook's people observed that the natives disliked these burying-places being walked over, but whereas Roggeveen was convinced, whether rightly or wrongly, that the cult of the statues was what we should call "a going concern," Cook, fifty ● 778 years later, is equally certain that it is a thing of the past; some of the figures are still standing, but some are fallen down, and the inhabitants "do not even trouble to repair the foundations of those which are going to decay." "The giant statues," he says, "are not in my opinion looked upon as idols by the present inhabitants, whatever they may have been in the days of the Dutch." Forster also remarks that "they are so disproportionate to the strength of the nation, it is most reasonable to look upon them as the remains of better times." La Pérouse does not agree with this last sentiment; he admits that at present the monuments are not respected, but he sees no reason why they should not still be made even under existing conditions; he thinks that a hundred people would be sufficient to put one of the statues in place. The objection he sees is that the people have no chief great enough to secure such a memorial. It is unfortunate that the mountain of Rano Raraku is so far removed from both the north and west anchorages, that none of the voyagers discovered it, although Cook's men were very near that from which the crowns were obtained.

127 In the nineteenth century we have a few accounts from passing [304] voyagers. Lisiansky, in 1804, found no people with long ears,[4] but in 1825 Beechey in H.M.S. *Blossom* says that there were 532 still a few to be seen. With regard to the statues, the process of

[1] MS. copy in the British Museum of a letter sent by one of the officers of the Spanish ship to a Canon or a Prebendary in Buenos Aires. MSS. 17607 (18). Our attention was drawn to this document by Dr. Corney.
[2] See above, p. 171.
[3] *Voyage of Gonzales*, p. 126.
[4] *Voyage Round the World in the Ship "Neva,"* Lisiansky, Lond. 1814, p. 58.

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

he called to the old woman, 'Look, there are men at your house!' 539
So she put out her long arm to seize what she thought were the people going to rob her hut, whereon the man seized the paddle and brought it down on her arm and broke it; then he killed the old woman and threw her body into the sea.

Life was by no means dull in Easter Island, for if a feast was 527
not being given to commemorate a departed relation, it was 778
arranged in honour of one whilst still alive. The "PAINA," which means simply picture or representation, was given by the family as a testimonial of esteem to a father, or possibly a brother who might be either alive or dead; it was a serious matter, and the original direction for the celebration came from a supernaturally gifted individual known as an "ivi-atua." The paina was a large figure made of woven rods, and the host would clamber up inside it and look through eyes or mouth; it had a crown made of the wings of a particular sea-bird, known as "makohe," and long ears. Occasionally it was put up on a special spot, where, for example, a man had been killed, but the interesting point in connection with the paina is that the usual place for erection was in front of an image ahu on its landward side, and at most, or all, of the large ahu, there can still be seen, in the grass at the foot of the paved slope, the holes where the paina have stood. It was kept in place by four long ropes, one of which passed over the ahu. The feast was held in the summer, and lasted from two to four days; at any given ahu there might be only one in the season or as many as five. The drawbacks, which would have seemed obvious to such a locality, do not seem to have [224] clouded the entertainment; the feasting was great, and consisted largely of rats which were caught in the hen-houses. The recollection of these entertainments and the crowds who attended them were very vivid, and Viriamo's eyes brightened as she told of the singing, dancing, and feasting of her youth.

There are records of another figure which appears to have been different from the paina; it was clothed and known as "KO PEKA." The Spanish Expedition in 1770 says that the islanders brought down to the beach, on the day when the three crosses were set up, an idol about 11 feet high like a "Judas," stuffed with straw; it was all white, and had a fringe of black hair hanging down its back. They put it up on stones and sat

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

cross-legged around it, howling all night by the light of flares. As no information was volunteered to us about such celebrations, the natives were asked if they had ever known a similar figure, and an old man at once replied that there had existed one just like the description, made of reeds, as a memorial of a dead wife or "fine" child; it stood in front of the house, or was sometimes carried to a hillock where the people assembled to mourn. One of the officers of the La Pérouse Expedition also described a figure seen near a platform; it was 11 feet in height, clothed in white tapa ("*étoffe blanche du pays*"); it had hanging round the neck a basket covered with white, and by the side of this bag the figure of a child 2 feet long. This seems to confirm the information that it was intended to represent a woman.

Another great festivity, given for a father either living or dead, was the "KORO." This was a house-party on a very extended scale. A special dwelling made with poles and thatched was put up, and, according to accounts, which surround it no doubt with a halo from the past, measured some hundreds of feet in length and 20 feet in height. An old man stated that at a celebration at which he was present there were "a hundred guests," a number which is probably a guess, but the addition that there were "ten cooking-places" sounds like memory. Invitations to these festivities were much in request, as there was "no work to do"; presents of food were brought to the hero who distributed them to the party. They seem to have lasted indefinitely, going on for months, and the time was passed with various entertainments. The old people sang, the young people danced, and the host, who lived in a little house near, came and looked on. On the last day there was a great feast, and the house was broken down with the aid of the carved wooden lizards, which are associated with the island (fig. 117). We were puzzled in coming across a rough stone building, near Anakena, which seemed to be neither ahu, dwelling, nor chicken-house; it had been, the men told us, a shelter for the posts of the koro, where they were kept in readiness for the next celebration.

There was yet another entertainment which is said to have been in honour of a mother, as a koro was of a father. In at least four different places on the island are to be seen a dancing-ground known as "KAUNGA." It is a narrow strip paved with pebbles, over 200 feet in length by 2 feet in width, and not